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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-87-250
Wednesday
30 December 1987

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Karpov on Nuclear, Conventional Arms Talks

LD291816 Moscow World Service in English 1610 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Interview with Viktor Karpov, "chief of the Foreign Ministry's Arms Reduction Disarmament Department," by Correspondent Vyacheslav (Kerikhov)]

[Text] 1987 has seen the signing of the first ever treaty eliminating two types of nuclear arms. Next, there'll be negotiations on a 50% cut in strategic offensive arms and a reduction in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. These are going to be rather difficult negotiations. Although the Washington summit worked out instructions for Soviet and American negotiators at strategic arms talks, a number of obstacles still have to be surmounted. For instance, there is no agreement yet as to what types of arms are going to be reduced. Radio Moscow's reporter Vyacheslav (Kerikhov) has put a number of questions on this issue to the chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Arms Reduction Disarmament Department, Viktor Karpov.

The term of compliance with the Antiballistic Missile Treaty and the broad and narrow interpretation of that agreement are most often mentioned as major difficulties in the way of future talks on a 50% strategic offensive arms reduction. Let's imagine that the Soviet Union and the United States have settled these questions. Can one say that in this case the way towards such an agreement will be easy? Viktor Karpov replied:

Compliance with the Antiballistic Missile Treaty in its 1972 form over a mutually agreed period will be an integral part of a future strategic offensive arms treaty. But even if these issues are settled, other problems related with [as heard] the drafting of an agreement on a 50% strategic arms cut remain. The attitude to sea-based and air-based [as heard] cruise missiles is the main controversy. In Washington, Mikhail Gorbachev said that all the difficulties of verification and control of submarine-based nuclear arms posed not so very long ago had been removed now that the Soviet Union has technical means to determine acurately the type of warhead these missiles have. However, air-based missiles are still a serious problem. We cannot agree with the Americans, Viktor Karpov continued, who say that any bomber is equipped with only six missiles, an amount carried by Soviet heavy bombers. (?Technically) this is the optimal payload for Soviet aircraft. Meanwhile, American heavy bombers already now carry as many as 12 cruise missiles; in future, B1 bombers will carry still more such missiles. If we agree that any bomber carries six missiles, the United States will have an advantage. This is something we cannot accept, said Viktor Karpov.

As you know, a reduction in conventional arms and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals is going to be discussed at special negotiations. The Vienna conference of the countries that signed the Helsinki accord is now drafting the agenda of such talks. Asked about progress in this matter, Viktor Karpov gave the following answer:

Unfortunately, the Vienna conference has failed to draft a mandate for future talks on conventional arms and armed forces cuts in Europe. This means that the subject matter of the talks is still unclear; what arms are going to be reduced, and what are not. Tactical nuclear-related weapons are the stumbling block. NATO is reluctant to consider tactical nuclear arms issues as part of the general process of troop and arms reduction in Europe, claiming that conventional arms have to be discussed first. But the point is that it's rather difficult if not impossible to draw a borderline between conventional weapons and tactical nuclear arms. Take artillery. Guns having a calibre of 152 mm and more can fire both conventional and nuclear shells. Nuclear warheads can also be put on tactical aircraft. Tactical missiles too are capable of carrying both conventional and nuclear warheads. This goes to show that there is no strict division between conventional and nuclear tactical weapons.

The Soviet Union and its allies have suggested that the Vienna meeting state clearly that all types of weapons that can have dual use be discussed at future talks on disarmament in Europe. A compromise solution in that matter is feasible. We hope, Viktor Karpov said, that at the next round of the conference in January, NATO countries will be more willing to achieve progress on these issues. The threat posed by the many thousands of nuclear charges deployed in Europe must not be ignored. If we fail to lessen tactical nuclear arsenals in Europe, the threat of war will remain.

Bogachev Urges Talks on Nuclear Testing

LD292153 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—TASS Military News Analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, primarily the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, open up a realistic possibility of spreading to new areas the process of control over armaments, of taking mutually acceptable decisions on such problems which yet until recently seemed complicated because of serious divergencies in the positions of the sides.

There are beginnings of realistic prerequisites for solving the question of a ban on nuclear explosions. The Soviet Union and the United States agreed to resume full-scale negotiations on nuclear tests. Concrete measures which are to be taken to advance towards the ultimate goal of complete termination of nuclear tests are enumerated in the joint Soviet-American statement at a summit level.

The Soviet side stated it was desirable, as the minimum step in this direction, to agree in the near future on lessening the yield of nuclear tests and fundamentally reducing the number of tests. The USSR considers it rightful and possible to introduce mutual moratorium on nuclear tests for a period of negotiations on banning nuclear tests. No positive reply to the Soviet proposal has unfortunately so far come from washington.

Removed by now have been almost all obstacles which were noted by the American side with or without ground, justifying its refusal to agree to a full ban on nuclear tests. Washington no longer feels "concern" over problems of verification of compliance with a ban on nuclear explosions. The course of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, the treaty on the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles signed in Washington have shown that the USSR is ready to take any measures of verification of compliance with agreements on real control over armaments and is going in this question farther than the United States. The Pentagon's assertions that the United States is lagging behind the USSR for the number of nuclear tests, lost any verisimultitude after the one year and a half-long unilateral Soviet moratorium. The United States held more explosions than all the other nuclear powers taken together.

Washington admits that termination of tests would raise reliable barriers to the development of new and perfection of old systems of mass destruction. But contrary to common sense, U.S. conservative circles view in this exactly the "main flaw" of the Soviet proposals for mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions. It is absolutely obvious that those who stand for continued nuclear explosions in the United States need tests by no means to make nuclear weapons powerless and outdated." [quotation marks as received]

It is now high time for cardinal changes in international life. The recent Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington has been a sign of these changes. Now, as never before, it is necessary to cast a fresh look on the problem of nuclear weapons, to turn back the process of building up systems of mass destruction. An accord to end nuclear tests would be an efficient step on this road.

Gerasimov Briefs Journalists at Media Center

Lauds Congressmen's Letter

LD291549 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—A letter of three congressmen—Robert Carr, Thomas Downy and Jim Moody, printed in the newspaper WASHINGTON POST, has drawn attention in Moscow. The congressmen visited in August the radar station which is under construction in the area of Krasnoyarsk, said today chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the press centre of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR.

"The authors of the letter refute the statements, ascribed to them, that allegedly what they saw in Krasnoyarsk testifies to violation of the ABM Treaty", said the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The congressmen refer to their report prepared upon their return from Krasnoyarsk in which they note that at the time they visited the structure they held that it was not a violation of the ABM Treaty. The authors of the letter underline the significance of the Soviet initiative to unilaterally suspend the works in building the Krasnoyarsk radar station as "assisting solution of that problem".

"The question of the Krasnoyarsk radar station was frequently raised and is being raised as an example of imaginary violation of the ABM treaty by the Soviet Union. The explanations of three congressmen, who visited the place, is, in our view, bound to help close the issue", said Gennadiy Gerasimov.

Chides U.S. Approach to Gulf

LD291621 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS-"It is essential that the conflicting sides themselves should more actively join the process of searching for a political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict", chief of the Information Directorate of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR Gennadiy Gerasimov said today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. There are possibilities for that, he said. The U.N. secretary-general plans one more round of consultations with representatives of Iraq and Iran in January next year.

The representative of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR drew attention to a statement, made on Monday by a representative of the U.S. Department of State, on the American side's readiness to study the Soviet Union's proposal that a U.N. naval force be formed in the Persian Gulf. "This statement is a pointer to a certain positive evolution in the U.S. approach to the issue. Meanwhile we consider as unjustified the American side's attempt to make consideration of the Soviet proposal conditional on adoption of the Security Council's resolution on embargo on arms deliveries. The USSR holds, as before, that practical work at the Security Council on these two issues could go on in parallel", said Gennadiy Gerasimov.

Criticizes PLO Office Closure

LD291545 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—The Soviet Union considers as illegitimate any attempts to deny the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people, the opportunity of effectively participating in the work of the United Nations, given to it by General Assembly decisions, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, who heads the ministry's Information Directorate, was addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the ministry's press centre.

"It was emphasised at a recent discussion of the issue at the U.N. that a decision of the U.S. Congress to close the PLO mission would contradict the 1947 U.N. headquarters agreement and the United States' International legal commitments with regard to this world organisation," he said.

Assails Israeli Actions

LD291555 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—"The very fact of holding by force Arab lands, i.e. the lands belonging to someone else, is a flagrant violation of the fundamental right of man to have a motherland and to freely choose ways of national and state development", Gennadiy Gerasimov has said. The head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

"Apart from it, even in conditions of an acute conflict situation in the region Israel as the invading country must observe provisions of the 1949 Geneva convention on the protection of civilian population at times of war", he continued.

The fact that the convention is applicable to the lands occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, was confirmed by Resolution 605 of the U.N. Security Council of December 22, this year.

According to reports coming from the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza sector, repressions of the Israeli authorities have entered a new stage. "The Soviet Union believes that human rights are of universal value which is the same in Israel, the U.S. or any other country. Together with the whole of the world community the

Soviet Union denounces collective punishment practiced by the Israeli authorities, wholesale arrests, administrative detention and the torture of prisoners, as well as the eviction of Arabs from the occupied lands and the denial of their right to return", Gerasimov said.

The Soviet stand on this problem is fully consonant with resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly on questions dealing with the actions of Israel affecting human rights. It is noteworthy that only two countries, the U.S. and Israel, voted against those resolutions.

Berates Howe Afghan Remarks

LD291603 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—"A statement of Geoffrey Howe, British secretary of state for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, on the situation in Afghanistan is full of hostility for the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the leadership of that country", Gennadiy Gerasimov has said.

The head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today that Howe's statements on the national reconciliation policy reflected a non-constructive and instigatory stand of London on the problem of the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

"The only contribution made so far by the British side to the settlement of the Afghan problem is the deliveries to the counterrevolutionary forces of ground-to-air blowpipe missiles whose explosions caused a lot of suffering to the civilian population of that country", Gerasimov said.

Notes Khowst Road Liberation

LD291614 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—Units fighting their way towards each other from the Afghan cities of Khowst and Gardeyz linked up today, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told newsmen at the ministry's press center that the units' advance towards each other had been greatly complicated by mines.

"Each day 1,000 to 1,200 mines have been defused," Gerasimov, who is chief of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said.

"The Gardeyz-Khowst road has been liberated along its full length," he stressed.

"Troops are now demining the sides of the road, restoring some of its sections that have been destroyed, and organizing diversions around ruined bridges."

"The road is expected to be made passable for motor traffic by December 31 and regular deliveries of all essential cargoes currently in storage at Gardeyz will begin from the first days in January," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The main combat activities had been conducted by Afghan forces, while Soviet military units had only supported them on commanding heights, he said.

Notes Japan's Fishing Agreement

LD291824 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—The fourth session of the Soviet-Japanese commission on fishing came to a close Monday. It was held in accordance with a Soviet-Japanese intergovernmental agreement on relations in the sphere of fishing off the shores of both countries of December 7, 1984, Gennady Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate, of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said today at a briefing for journalists.

Fishing quotas for Soviet and Japanese fishing boats in the 200-mile zones of both countries set at 210,000 tons for each side. Meeting the request of the Japanese side, the Soviet side gave it an additional 100,000-ton quota in the Soviet zone on conditions on a money compensation (7.5 million foreign currency roubles).

"The Japanese side gave its consent to calls of Soviet boats fishing in the Japanese zone at a port situated on the Pacific coast of Japan for replenishing their water and food supplies and for giving some rest to the crew. On the basis of reciprocity the Soviet side allowed Japanese boats fishing in the Soviet zone to use a Soviet port for the same purpose", Gerasimov said in conclusion.

Libya Sends Letter to UN on U.S. Sanctions

LD232059 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Text] New York December 23 TASS—The Libyan Government has called the attention of the United Nations to a provocative decision of the U.S. Administration to prolong economic sanctions against Libya under the pretext that it allegedly "engages in terrorism and poses a threat to U.S. security".

In his letter to the U.N. secretary general Jadallah 'Aziz al-Talhi, secretary of the GPC [General People's Committee] for Foreign Liaison, pointed out again the falseness of those allegations. The letter said that Libya regarded the U.S. decision as a manifestation of imperialist despotism, as open and arrogant disregard of the international law and ethical principles. Libya is living under a continuous threat of aggression for one reason only: Its people decided to freely live in their own country without yielding to U.S. hegemonism, said the letter circulated today as an official document of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council.

PRAVDA on INF, West Bank Unrest, Husayn Visit

PM291308 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "International Review"]

[Text] Only a few days remain before the end of 1987. This year will go down in history as the 70th anniversary of the Land of the Soviets, which heralded its birth with Lenin's Decree on Peace, and as the year that marked the watershed between the era of the growth of the nuclear threat and the era of demilitarization of mankind's life. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles, signed in Washington, laid practical foundations for building a world without nuclear weapons.

Although it is still too soon to speak of a radical breakthrough in Soviet-U.S. relations, a positive shift has taken place. The question now is how fully its consequences can be utilized. The "hawks" across the ocean have by no means laid down their arms. They did not manage to prevent the signing of the treaty—so they want to make it difficult to ratify it or to neutralize its effect by means of roundabout maneuvers in order to wreck the subsequent, more important steps outlined by the participants in the Washington meeting.

Why Have They Started Talking About "Compensation"? [subhead]

Not only the opponents of the Washington treaty, but even the leaders of the U.S. Administration themselves have begun to say: Before moving further, we must eliminate the USSR's superiority in conventional and chemical arms. Since the Soviet side has agreed to eliminate more than twice as many intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, we must, they say, continue in every case to seek similarly "asymmetrical" reductions. The West, conversely, should "compensate" in some way for the Pershings and Tomahawks due for destruction.

As new positions are reached, the question of asymmetry and imbalance in various classes of arms and branches of armed forces has indeed become more pressing and acute. Each side has grounds for concern on this score. Some people in the United States do not like the fact that American missiles capable of hitting the USSR's territory will be destroyed, while Soviet intermediate-range missiles cannot reach the United States. Soviet people sometimes ask: Are we doing the right thing to agree to eliminate more missiles and warheads than the Americans? Clearly the first question can in part supply the answer to the second. Even with more considerable reductions, the USSR's security interests will gain, not lose.

The main thing is that the Washington treaty makes it possible to break the deadlock and embark on the implementation of the Soviet program for phased elimination of nuclear weapons. The USSR has taken really bold steps to this end, but some people in the West are not averse to interpreting the flexibility and initiative of Soviet foreign policy as a readiness to make one-sided concessions, imposing on us the principle of "asymmetrical reductions" as some kind of absolute. Such hopes are futile.

True, the structure of the USSR and U.S. Armed Forces is not identical. This asymmetry arose historically, above all because the United States, at one time, encircled the Soviet Union with a ring of military bases, while our country had to oppose the American threat from its own territory. The further the two states manage to progress along the path of strategic offensive arms reduction, the more significance the American forward-based systems and the British and French nuclear forces will acquire. That is where there is really an imbalance! But NATO strategists, by all appearances, intend to "compensate" for the reduction of arms of one kind by building up others.

The U.S. Strategic Air Command proposes to fill the imaginary "gaps" in the West European defenses with American aircraft equipped with improved dual-purpose cruise missiles. The British Government has already announced its consent to the siting of additional squadrons of F-111 and F-15E fighter-bombers at Greenham Common and other bases. They want to transfer American F-16 fighter-bombers from Spain to the military base near the Belgian city of Florennes, where, as at Greenham Common, the cruise missiles are to be eliminated.

"Although Uncle Sam still arrogantly patrols vast regions of the noncommunist world, it is increasingly difficult for him to find a place to park his police car. From Madrid to Manila the allies, satellites, and other supposedly friendly countries are threatening to annul the U.S. right to have American military bases on their territories," the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT laments.

Things are now really difficult for the Pentagon: In the next few years the agreements on bases with Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, and the Philippines will expire. Madrid has declared resolutely that F-16's must not remain on Spanish soil. Ankara is refusing to site Lance tactical nuclear missiles in the country. Everyone is demanding increased American aid, yet America is having, on the contrary, to cut it.

Against this background the notorious "compensation" proved to be a convenient pretext to consolidate the American presence at the foreign bases, and at the same time to spur on the process of military integration of the West European NATO members. Paris' LE FIGARO notes that the first meeting of the defense ministers of two West European states after the signing of the Washington treaty was devoted to the question: How and with what to replace the ground-launched cruise missiles due for destruction. The British and French defense ministers adopted a decision on the joint development of an air-launched nuclear cruise missile. The Paris-London axis plays the main role in West European defense, LE FIGARO declares in a self-satisfied way. Although France also has close military ties with West Germany, talks with Britain are on an entirely different plane, because only these two countries have a nuclear strike force. According to British press reports, Paris proposed to London to coordinate the targets on which each country's nuclear weapons are trained, as well as the patrol zones of their missile-carrying submarines.

Asymmetry does indeed exist in the structure of the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces. The Soviet Union is prepared to eliminate the imbalances in this respect and seek equilibrium at a lower level, but progress toward this end can only take place in a basis of reciprocity. Attempts, on the pretext of "compensation," unilaterally to build up the American forward-based systems and the British and French nuclear potential can only undermine the Washington treaty and provoke a new spiral in the arms race in Europe.

People Against Occupiers [subhead]

This week the West celebrated Christmas. The festive lights were lit on the fir trees and Christmas carols rang out. However, there was neither peace nor good will in the place where, by tradition, Jesus of Nazareth was born and where the Lord's tomb lies, over which the Crusaders once campaigned. Blood is being shed in the Biblical places. People are dying, dying at the hands of those who stubbornly seek to establish their authority by fire and the sword.

For more than 2 weeks now unprecedented disturbances have gripped the lands subjected to Israeli aggression 20 years ago—the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan, and Eastern Jerusalem. For the first time the 1.5 million Palestinians in the occupied territories are joined by the entire Arab community of Israel. Some 800,000 people—nearly one fifth of the country's population—have declared a strike in solidarity.

Tel Aviv vainly hoped that the new generation of Palestinians, raised in the conditions of occupation, would reconcile themselves to the position of outcasts, but it is the young people who are at the heart of the mass demonstrations. With nothing but stones, adolescents are fighting the punitive squads.

"Rubber bullets and tear gas are no longer enough," Israeli Defense Minister Rabin stated on a visit to Washington, so real bullets were brought into play. More than 50 Palestinians were killed, more than 500 wounded, and over 5,000 were thrown behind bars. The Israeli punitive squads are following the example of the South African racists: If you can't deal with the demonstrators, at least hush up the repressions. But the truth about the orgy of bloody terror spread across the globe and aroused a storm of indignation.

At the recent Soviet-American meeting in Washington the U.S. President argued in didactic tones that paramount significance is attached to the problems of regional conflicts and human rights. The most chronic conflict among these is the Near East conflict, and this is particularly closely linked to questions of human rights. It was because of the nonfulfillment of the 1947 UN resolution on the partition of Palestine and the creation of two states on its territory, as well as the subsequent wars between Israel and its neighbors, that the Palestinian Arabs were deprived of their right to a homeland.

What is the attitude of the Washington defenders of human rights to the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination? The other day an official White House spokesman was asked outright: "Why does the President speak out so loudly on the question of Soviet Jews, while keeping quiet about the repressions against the Palestinians?"

This question is entirely justified. The other day the UN Security Council adopted a resolution resolutely condemning Israel's policy and practice, in particular that of firing on unarmed people, and assessing this as a violation of human rights and of the 1949 Geneva convention on the protection of the civilian population during hostilities. This resolution was voted for unanimously by all the Security Council members, with one sole abstention—the U.S. representative. When, not long before this, the General Assembly assessed Tel Aviv's tyranny in the occupied lands as "war crimes and an offense against mankind," only the United States and Israel voted against.

The escalation of terror against the Palestinians coincided with the signing of the American-Israeli "memorandum of mutual understanding." The document grants Tel Aviv the same status in the sphere of military cooperation with Washington as is enjoyed by the U.S. NATO allies. With this ostentatious step the U.S. Administration expressed unequivocal support for the Israeli occupiers, as well as its own reluctance to seek ways of settling the Near East conflict.

Seeking Solutions Together [subhead]

This week King Husayn of Jordan was in Moscow for a brief official visit. During his talks and meetings with Soviet leaders great attention was devoted to the Near East problem. M.S. Gorbachev and King Husayn were unanimous in the view that only one path leads to a comprehensive and just settlement of that problem—the convening of a plenipotentiary international conference with the equal participation of all interested parties, as well as the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Only by joint efforts on the basis of honest collaboration is it possible to bring the interests of the Arab states and Israel to a common denominator. The Palestinian factor remains a key element in a Near East settlement; lasting peace cannot be achieved without a resolution of every aspect of the Palestinian problem.

In the Soviet leadership's opinion, an international conference should not be a cover for separate accords. This means that all parties, including the PLO, must take part collectively in the elaboration of a comprehensive Near East settlement. The conference is called upon to find solutions on all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict and proceed on the basis of each people's right to determine its own destiny and live within secure and recognized borders. The task now is to pave the way to a full international conference of this kind. The Soviet Union is prepared constructively to promote this both through the UN Security Council and through contacts with all interested parties, including the PLO and Israel.

In the course of the Soviet-Jordanian talks in Moscow, questions concerning the Iran-Iraq conflict and the Persian Gulf situation were also discussed. The common opinion was expressed that the exacerbation of the situation in this region requires active, vigorous actions. Both sides believe that the basis for effective steps toward peace is still UN Security Council Resolution 598. Of course, the path to ending the war is complex. The readiness of Iraq alone for a political settlement is not enough; the world community has a right to expect the same from Iran. King Husayn came out in favor of imposing an embargo on weapons sales to Iran. According to M.S. Gorbachev, the USSR is not opposed to examining this question in the Security Council, and does not itself engage in such supplies, but there are doubts: Are those who were caught secretly selling weapons to Iran ready to observe an embargo?

The facts show that the buildup of the naval forces of the United States and its NATO allies in the Persian Gulf only exacerbates the situation and complicates the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. The Soviet Union proposes the withdrawal from the Gulf of ships belonging to nonlittoral states, and to ensure freedom of navigation there, to form UN naval forces.

In talking with the king of Jordan the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed that the Soviet Union persistently calls on the United States to make joint efforts to unblock conflict situations in the Near and Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and other places where the quest for the settlement of regional conflicts by political means, on the basis of the legitimate interests of all parties, is now being pursued increasingly actively.

The Soviet Union supports the course of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. A political decision has been taken on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from there. The schedule has been set: 12 months, or perhaps less. It has been announced that from the start of the withdrawal, Soviet troops will cease to take part in combat operations, with the exception of self-defense. However, any aid to the dushmans must also stop from the first day.

An important indication that Kabul's course of national reconciliation enjoys international support was the meeting this week between Afghan President Najibullah and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The two leaders noted with satisfaction the progress at the Afghan-Pakistani talks being conducted through the deputy UN secretary general in Geneva. The present situation gives rise to the hope that the drafting of an agreement will be completed in the next round.

'Top Priority' Program Reviews Year's Events

LD261414 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 26 Dec 87

["Top Priority" program, presented by Vladimir Pozner, with Professors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Excerpts] [Pozner] Looking back over 1987, let's begin with the following: What event, or perhaps events, depending how you want to look at it, in your opinion, were the most important? What would you point to as the high point of 1987? [passage omitted]

[Bogdanov] If I look back at the events of that year, and we have plenty of events, not only events but major events, so one can say that this year was, if you like, extraordinary year and I am not afraid of that word. Extraordinary by what dimension? By the practical achievements, by the new mood of the people. And I would prefer to put the new mood of the people first and the achievements afterward because I believe that there is a very close link between the real deeds, what we have witnessed with you and with the people's mood. [passage omitted]

People got so much fed up with the nuclear threat, with nuclear danger, so much fed up with the day to day feeling of something lying over them that they cannot control, that all of them, without any formal agreements, without any signing, without signing any papers, all of them spiritually, if you like, came to the conclusion: Stop it! Do something! Deliver something! And I believe that the most important event of this year, if you forget for a while the practical achievements, but the most important event was that the politicians were trying to get...

[Plekhanov—interrupting] To level with the people.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, to level with the people. And my impression was that some of them, some of them, were even worried about that, that they were behind people's mood, and as they were trying to catch up with the people's mood. And I believe that's very good, that's a very new phenomenon. And just because of that they could deliver what is known as INF treaty and some other achievements.

[Pozner] [Passage omitted] Prof Plekhanov, how do you feel about the most important events? You would probably agree that this change of the attitude of the man in the street is very important. Is there anything else that you would point to in 1987?

[Plekhanov] I think people were reacting to events and it's not only the nuclear threat, that's one issue which is paramount, of course, on people's minds. But there are other things, there are other problems that need attention. And people, I think, societies across the world, are demanding that the political leaders redirect their attention from things like the arms race, trying to get an upper hand over the other in matters of military armaments, silly games of global influence which sometimes have nothing to do with the real issue on the ground, and redirect their energy and attention toward real problems. And the state of the world economy is, I think, one such issue.

The events of October 1987 may go down in history as a turning point in the perception of the fundamental issues which must be resolved in the world economy.

[Pozner] You might remind our listeners what you have in mind when you talk of October 1987.

[Plekhanov] Oh, yes. October 1987—I'm talking about the stock market panic, which in the first place has led to a chain of events which is far from complete and there may be other shocks of that kind to the world economy, but also it demonstrated the lack of serious economic policy at the top level in Washington. And we're talking about the major economic power in the world, the United States, which, when it sneezes, at least half the world gets pneumonia. In that sense the world is dependent on the United States, just as the United States is dependent on the world. And that episode of October and its consequences, I think, have demonstrated that there is something wrong with the current approach to world problems, that there must be a different tack, there must be a different frame of reference, and of course a key element of that frame of reference—forget about the Soviet-American arms race, just forget about it, this is not an issue. This is, I mean, you can't take it too seriously, you must think about the world politics in different terms than who is ahead of whom in armaments.

And another thing which I think was important in 1987 was that in the Soviet Union the policy of perestroyka and glasnost has become entrenched, institutionalized, that major policy decisions were taken concernint the economic reform, political reform, democratization. And all those things increase the determination of the Soviet Union to find a new policy framework for its international environment. So there is an increased pressure from the Soviet Union in favor of a new system of world security, less armed and more based on cooperation. So I think those things were reflected both in people's moods and in politicians' actions.

[Pozner] Well thus far you have been talking about rather general developments. What about concrete achievements of 1987? I heard you mention, as it were, passingly mention, INF. Would you not consider that to be one of the, if not perhaps the most important concrete achievement of 1987?

[Bogdanov] Well, I believe it is, it is, but not only that, that's the most important achievement maybe in a decade or 2 decades by many, many dimensions. [passage omitted]

So you have this major event and if you look at that as a beginning of a very, very efficient process of disarmament, if you look at that as creating precedents, practice, if you like, for the major cuts in the strategic offensive weapons, one can get really optimistic. You have it on the table. From the theoretical side of it it turned to the practical side of it. And what excites me really, that the credit for that goes to two sides. The two sides were so (? wise) that they could really cooperate in such a way that they could produce this outstanding treaty, this outstanding agreement, not only on destruction but on verification and control. And the problem is for the next year, that's what I feel, it's just how to fix that, how to fix that as one level from which you jump to another level, to another level.

I understand that in America you have different views on that. By the way, you have different views on that at our end too and you have people at our end too that they don't agree [as heard] with that treaty, they don't say it is fair. They say it is fair for Americans, it's not fair for us. You have the same people in America. You have a problem of ratification. But if you judge by the public opinion polls, if I may judge by my personal contacts with my American friends and colleagues from the political world, from the academic world, that would be ratified. Ratified because everybody feels that it's a fair, good thing that should be encouraged. [passage omitted]

[Pozner] [Passage omitted] Dr Plekhanov, I'd like to ask you the following question. Now, what we see in the treaty is an example. Do you believe that this example will have any importance for the other countries of the world, also nuclear powers? Do you think that this type of act that we've seen in 1987 bodes good for future years in the sense of furnishing both an example and an impetus for other countries?

[Plekhanov] I hope it should, but one should not get euphoric here because in fact as far as France, for instance, is concerned there has been an opposite development, that the conclusion of that agreement to eliminate medium-range missiles, Soviet and American, from Europe has made some people in France more worried about the state of security in Europe and they think that there is a gap which now must be filled and that other nuclear powers must step into that gap. Now, to me it's all a reflection of a tremendous lack of realism and common sense on behalf of some politicians in Europe.

But this is a reality which will make itself felt and so the struggle for the next stages of nuclear disarmament may be very difficult. As far as China is concerned, which is a major nuclear power as well, I think their approach is more enlightened because they applauded the treaty. Of course, one reason why they did that was because we eliminated, because we agreed to eliminate our Asian...

[Bogdanov—interrupting] And don't forget that they are not the first use country.

[Plekhanov] That's right, they are not the first use country.

[Bogdanov] That's a very important point.

[Plekhanov] China became the second nuclear power to adopt a policy, after the Soviet Union, to adopt a policy of no first use of nuclear weapons and that's very important. And they are prepared to support this movement toward nuclear disarmament, to take part in it, and I believe that we may have fewer problems with the Chinese than with the French in that regard. But of course, you know, it very much depends on what people do. There is more power in the hands of common people than they know.

[Bogdanov] Do you believe, Sergey, that at the end of this year people became wiser, softer, more acceptable, more benign? They have changed?

[Plekhanov] I think so, because they've seen something that they really didn't expect, even in their most optimistic moments.

[Pozner] Talking about that, and with time running out, I'd like to ask you briefly to tell our listeners and to tell me: Have your hopes for 1987 been materialized? Do you feel that 1987 indeed brought what you wished it would bring?

[Bogdanov] Some of them yes, some of them not.

[Plekhanov] As far as I'm concerned, I didn't expect some of the things, some of the good things that have happened, so that I'm more than satisfied.

[Pozner] So for you 1987 was a good year? And for you it was a, what, so-so?

[Bogdanov] Well, let's put it that way, so-so.

[Pozner] All right. I would like to put my 2 cents in here and say that I think 1987 was a great year, one that will be looked back on in history as perhaps a turning point in the relationship between our two countries. Certainly it brought me great satisfaction. [passage omitted]

Medvedev, Academics Address Conference on GOSR

PM230801 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian
17 Dec 87 pp 2-6

[Unattributed report: "Great October and the Present Day"—first six paragraphs published in boldface]

[Excerpts] An international scientific conference on "Great October and the Present Day" was held in Moscow over 3 days, on 8-10 December.

The conference was organized by the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, and the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute. In addition to Soviet scientists, it was attended by 120 scientists and public figures, representatives of communist, socialist, social-democratic, and revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations from 65 countries.

The conference was opened by G.L. Smirnov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute.

A report was delivered by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Three sections worked within the conference framework: "Great October and World Development," "Great October and Real Socialism," and "Great October and the Struggle for Peace and New Political Thinking."

V.A. Medvedev's report and the speeches of the majority of conference participants are published below in abbreviated form.

Report by V.A. Medvedev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee [subhead]

Today, at a crucial stage of human civilization, V.A. Medvedev said, we are particularly fully aware of the extent of the historical importance of everything that happened in Russia in October 1917. Just as the 19th century ran its course under the influence of the great French Revolution, the most important sociopolitical processes in our century bear the indelible stamp of the influence of Great October.

Fundamental changes have taken place in the world's components, its material foundation, its political complexion, and its spiritual nature over the last 7 decades. The novelty of contemporary processes is making substantial amendments to our theory. The task now is, without losing the thread of Marxist continuity, to answer the questions posed by life, to fully revive the Leninist concept of socialism, and to ensure the qualitative augmentation and creative development of our theoretical heritage.

The celebration of October's 70th anniversary and the meeting of representatives of parties and movements were a major landmark in solving this task. The October festivities led our party to new frontiers in interpreting our past and achievements and in perceiving problems to be solved in the future. New impetus was given to restructuring, international activity, and development of theoretical thinking.

This, the speaker noted, primarily applies to perception of the nature of the contemporary epoch. Immediately after October, under the influence of its victory and the revolutionary upsurge in the West, our political and theoretical thinking was dominated by ideas about swift development of the revolutionary process on a worldwide scale. The New Economic Policy concept advanced by V.I. Lenin, as M.S. Gorbachev noted, translated Lenin's "idea of peaceful coexistence ('peaceful cohabitation') from the initially purely political, and even diplomatic, area into the sphere of the epoch's fundamental laws."

Narrow class views prevented the West's ruling circles from appreciating the promising nature of the idea of peaceful coexistence, and they opted for something different: military intervention, economic blockade, and political pressure. In those conditions, the Soviet Union had to rely on its own resources for virtually everything. This fueled sentiments of autarky, a closed society, and a watchful attitude toward the other world.

In the late fifties, under the influence of the 20th congress directives, peaceful coexistence between the two systems began to be perceived as an independent historical stage of development throughout which economic competition between the two systems develops. But even this transition was linked to a hope of gaining the upper hand over capitalism in economic competition within a matter of 1 to 2 decades, which proved to be unrealistic.

Dwelling in this context on the development of views on capitalism, the speaker noted that for a long time our social sciences, and to a certain extent our political practice, proceeded on the basis of outdated ideas. They left outside the scope of scientific analysis a series of essential questions, such as: What kind of capability does capitalism have to reach new levels of socialization of production and to expand frontiers of development of productive forces? Now, when monopoly capitalism is almost a century old, the idea that it is a slight modification of "classical" 19th century capitalism is increasingly at variance with the actual state of affairs. The question arises: Is the epoch of free competition not a precursor of monopoly capitalism as a state of the capitalist mode of production that more fully expresses its essence?

Of course, capitalism's ability to adapt to new circumstances does not mean that the system's antagonistic nature has changed. More and more new contradictions arise within it, in parallel with the "classic" contradiction between labor and capital, unemployment, the absence of social guarantees, and the cyclical nature of development. Militarism, the system of neocolonialism, and the collapse of culture and morality contain an enormous destructive charge.

Today it is clear, V.A. Medvedev remarked, that the law-governed replacement of socioeconomic formations will occur over a broader historical timespan than previously supposed, with considerable diversity of forms of transition. Hence the prospect of long-term coexistence and collaboration between the two social systems.

It is also necessary to look afresh at our understanding of the nature and forms of coexistence. The view of the two systems as moving along parallel tracks is an illusion. The world's interdependence is such that these parallels will inevitably cross, and the two systems and the countries belonging to them will collaborate closely within the framework of general world development, in the scientific, technical, economic, and social areas, in the human relations sphere, and in solving global problems. Strictly speaking, this process is already under way. The task is to determine forms of collaboration whereby socialism would participate even more actively in the processes of world development and the international division of labor, while maintaining its socialist primacy and strengthening its influence.

The new political thinking elaborated by the CPSU embodies Lenin's ideas and takes into account the world's growing interdependence, as well as the realities of the nuclear age and the scientific and technical revolution. It is based on the priority of universal human values and answers the most acute problems of our time, primarily that of mankind's survival.

Within the spirit of the new political thinking, we are also clarifying our perceptions of the pace and content of social progress, its routes, and its motive forces. In a general way, it can be said that this is a process embracing the renewal of socialism and its ascent to a qualitatively new stage; the struggle of the working class and broad masses of working people within the capitalist system itself; the solution of the most acute problems of developing countries via a profound restructuring of the world political and economic order; and the solution of global, universal human problems, primarily the mandatory exclusion of the threat of nuclear war and creation of a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

The future that awaits mankind will depend to an enormous extent on the prospects for socialism's development and renewal, for its attainment of a qualitatively new state. The present period is particularly important in the history of socialism. Having described in detail the theoretical and practical work to restructure and renew Soviet society, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that the country has entered a crucial stage whose essence lies in implementation of restructuring and translation of its ideas and designs in practice. Work is being done along two main avenues: the broad democratization of society and the radical economic reform. Life is urging us on. The people want decisive and swift actions. If we lose any time, we could find ourselves in difficulties. But there is something else that cannot be ignored: Restructuring involves the lives of millions of people. Therefore, hasty actions prompted by emotions can only harm the cause. It is necessary to thoroughly consider every step and to measure it against fundamental, strategic objectives.

The quest for ways to renew society and the profound reforms, whose purpose is to lead socialism to a qualitatively new phase of development, are also being launched in several socialist countries. This fact alone testifies that world socialism has entered a new stage of development. It testifies to the transition from one historical model to another, which is in line with contemporary conditions.

World socialism is also entering a new stage from the viewpoint of the restructuring of mutual relations between socialist countries. The Moscow meeting of CEMA countries' leaders in November 1986 was of key importance for the coordination and consolidation of this joint approach. V.A. Medvedev described the major positive developments taking place in the all-around cooperation between socialist countries, and stressed the need for profound theoretical interpretation of world socialism as a social phenomenon, of the forms in which it develops and of the terms used to describe it. Dwelling on the development of ideas on such a politically and theoretically important question as the correlation of basic laws and national peculiarities of socialist development, he emphasized that the strength of socialism, confirmation of its universality, and enrichment of the socialist idea itself lie in the recognition, consideration, and use of a multiplicity of forms and national phenomena. It is, of course, important that national peculiarities are not made absolute here.

The speaker drew attention to questions of economic relations between socialist states. Here there is literally a sea of problems whose theoretical elaboration is of paramount importance for practice. A series of major questions relating to the formation of a single socialist market still have to be solved. The knot of foreign currency and finance problems has to be undone. The problem of price formation must be solved in mutual interests. The way must be cleared for contract prices, and conditions must be more boldly prepared for reciprocal convertibility of currencies.

Over the last few decades, the report noted, the term "global problems" has acquired currency and is now firmly a part of world politics. The main and most immediate of these problems is to safeguard peace and prevent a nuclear cataclysm. If mankind solves this problem, it will gain a real chance to cope also with the other problems, to create a qualitatively different world. In this context the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting has a truly historic importance. This is the first time in the 40 years of the nuclear age that agreement has been reached not just on limiting but on reducing nuclear arsenals. The first crack is opening up in the seemingly insurmountable wall of nuclear confrontation. The clock of history has started a new countdown—of movement toward a nuclear-free world.

The problem of the development of countries that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence is another cornerstone in the building of a new world. October has had its say also on this issue. The ideas it advanced—the nations' right to self-determination, the need to end imperialist plunder and organize exchanges between developed and developing countries on a fair basis—still retain their abiding importance. The young Soviet state demonstrated in practice how relations of equality with previously oppressed peoples must be built, eliminated the legacy of the past, and rendered them selfless assistance.

The report noted that the gap between the developed, capitalist North and the developing South is widening. It also noted that the situation is fraught with the danger of an explosion, the consequences of which are difficult to predict in today's interlinked world. We are totally on the side of the peoples' waging a struggle for their national liberation and independent economic development, and we assist them in every possible way. At the same time, we are in favor of a quest for global solutions to the common problems of that zone of the world.

In conclusion, V.A. Medvedev touched on questions of the collaboration of progressive and peace-loving forces. The working class, he stressed, is still the main force of social progress. At the same time, the scale, volume, and—this is the main point—worldwide nature of contemporary progress predetermine the significant expansion of the range of forces which can and must join in implementing pressing historical tasks.

In this context, emphasis was placed on the unique importance of the meeting of representatives of parties and movements held in Moscow during the Great October festivities, which, despite all the different views and assessments held by its participants, confirmed the common desire for peace and the need for joint actions for the sake of preserving it. Conditions are now emerging for gradual development of dialogue between communists and social democrats, while preserving the independence and originality of each of these political trends. A new style, a new standard of relations based on mutual respect, comparison of views, and rejection of the haughtiness of omniscience are important for establishment of genuine collaboration.

Dwelling on questions of the communist movement's development, the speaker noted that the difficulties along this path were the result of earlier violations of the principles of mutual relations between parties. This is now in the past. In our view, nothing must hinder communists in the exchange of work experience and close cooperation. As an inseparable part of the international communist and workers movement, the CPSU interprets its role and position in the contemporary fast-changing world. This quest of ours coincides with that conducted by other fraternal parties.

Mankind is at a crucial stage. The joint actions by all left-wing, peace-loving forces will largely determine whether it manages to traverse this responsible period in its history. We are convinced, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee concluded, that a tremendous role will have to be played here by socialism, by its ability to fully reveal its potential and to scale new heights. Soviet Communists perceive achievement of these goals as loyalty to October's traditions, as their duty to the new generations. [passage omitted]

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor A.P. Butenko devoted his speech to problems of political leadership and the struggle for power under socialism. He criticized the politically prejudiced view that such problems supposedly do not exist under socialism and demonstrated the historical and social causes of this prejudice, which has already been rejected by the communist movement.

Thus, in the speaker's opinion, the establishment of Stalin's despotism was by no means an ordinary replacement of one leader, Lenin, by another, Stalin, but also signified a substantial change in the disposition of sociopolitical forces in power. The advent in power of N.S. Khrushchev and his supporters and their struggle to overcome the personality cult and its consequences were also not merely a change of leader but a substantial transfer [peredvizhka] of functions of power from some sociopolitical forces to others.

Was N.S. Khrushchev's removal from the post of political leader really because of his "state of health" or the result of actions by certain political forces dissatisfied with his leadership and his policy? It is also certain, the speaker said, that the last change of political leadership in the Soviet Union is a substantial political turnabout conditioned not only by M.S. Gorbachev's personal qualities but also by the interests of sociopolitical forces seeking to overcome stagnation and renew the theory and practice of socialism. A.P. Butenko devoted a considerable part of his speech to the history of the USSR, the problems of political leadership, and the struggle for power in Soviet society during the twenties and thirties, as well as answers to questions.

I have a sharply negative attitude toward the Stalin personality cult and other cults and mini-cults of the not so distant past, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V.F. Khalipov declared. But I will never support the exaggerated view that only the so-called despotic regime of Stalin and his entourage reigned in the country, that it supposedly marked a break with socialism equivalent to a political coup. Much of what happened was, in essence, countersocialist. But what saved us and came to our rescue here were the energy imparted to the people by Great October, the impulses of the great revolution, the people's yearning for socialism, their devotion, and yes, ultimately, simply their faith in socialism and the party.

The problem, as I see it, is that in order to perceive the position, role, potential, merits, and difficulties of the contradictions of socialism in the contemporary world, we must really start with Lenin and must vigorously revive the spirit of Leninism. Society's knowledge of the works of Marx and Engels must be seriously enhanced. What we need is a resolute breakthrough toward profound assimilation of the classical heritage. We need a problem-based study of Marxism-Leninism, and primarily of its acutely topical ideas and concepts. Unless the taste for theory and theory's prestige are enhanced, restructuring will not progress at the required pace.

Finally, it is necessary to realize with perfect clarity that contemporary social thinking involves a vast and growing layer of problems on which the classics did not say and could not have said anything at all. Here we must totally and fully rely on our own resources and must persistently cultivate top-grade theoreticians on a contemporary scale. We must not get carried away only with the past, only with the history of the twenties, thirties, and forties. What we need is active elaboration of present and future problems. [passage omitted]

A final plenary session was held following the conclusion of the sections' work, at which the conference results were summed up. Speeches were delivered by section leaders G.L. Smirnov, R.G. Yanovskiy, and P.N. Fedoseyev.

Both Comrade V.A. Medvedev's report and the sections' work focused attention on questions of the interaction between October, real socialism, and world development, G.L. Smirnov said. All speakers without exception noted October's importance as an example of the practical solution of centuries-old social problems, as practical assistance by socialist countries to the liberation struggle, and as a restraining influence on the capitalist class' behavior, forcing it to take into account the mighty influence of socialism. All this can be summed up in the familiar formula that the world is no longer what it was before October 1917.

The section's attention was drawn by the question: Should the October Revolution be perceived only as a result of the development of one country's own contradictions or as the result of world processes? This question was resolved a long time ago in Soviet literature. We believe that on the eve of the revolution, Russia was the focal point of imperialism's contradictions. This says it all.

Why has this question reemerged now? This has a purely instrumental importance. Attempts are being made to link our contemporary problems with Russia's backwardness, to compromise the correctness of the historical choice made by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in favor of socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

The fact that imperialists from the Entente, Germany, America, and Japan were extremely eager to take part in the intervention against the Soviet republic testifies that the Russian proletarian revolution broke the continuous chain of imperialism and posed a threat to the world bourgeoisie. Hence the mobilization of external and internal counterrevolution, which predetermined the methods of exercising proletarian power and the scale of the civil war. All this stemmed not from the theory of socialism but from circumstances created by the counterrevolution.

Questions of democracy loomed large in the discussions which developed in our section. It was said, for example, that the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly changed for the worse the attitude of Western social democrats toward the October Revolution. It was said that this dissolution put an end to the Russian Revolution's democratic development. This could well be true from the viewpoint of the traditional perception of democracy. But the October Revolution established people's power and, in this sense, the Soviet Republic was more democratic than any other political system.

Russia certainly lacked the democratic traditions existing in West Europe. But when comparing the historical conditions of that time, two factors must be borne in mind.

First, it was the lack of democratic traditions in Russia that conditioned many of the specific features of the revolution's development in our country. Some 1,600 people died during the February Revolution while actively resisting the police and other counterrevolutionary forces; only 6 people died in the course of the October Revolution. This reference to historical facts debunks the propaganda slogans which try to present the February Revolution as peaceful and democratic in contrast with the October Revolution.

Second, when speaking of Europe's democratic traditions, the cruel methods used to put down the revolutionary uprisings in Hungary, Bavaria, Berlin, and Hamburg must not be forgotten.

As you can see, reference to the historical realities of the past casts much light on some present-day reflections.

Much was said about the importance of joint efforts for solving global problems—the problems of peace, health, ecology, and food supplies. Now it is obvious that if mankind wants to successfully develop and advance, it can achieve this only given joint efforts, given the development of broad cooperation between peoples and states.

A polemic arose about the correlation between general human and general class interests. It is perfectly clear that the working class has its own supreme class interests: liberation of the working class and the working people from capitalist exploitation and the building of socialism and communism. This is the essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. But it is also clear that the situation has now developed in the way foreseen by V.I. Lenin: A weapon has been developed that renders wars impossible. The salvation of world civilization is the supreme interest that now faces all classes in society. Otherwise there will be nobody to be liberated. Communists are in the vanguard of the struggle for peace. Does this diminish the importance of the working class' interests? No, this is the dialectics of life. This is the contradictory nature of the processes of social development. How social development proceeds in the future is up to every people, up to the particular countries. It will be shown by experience.

Questions of the unity of communists, socialists, and social democrats were discussed. Some very interesting views were expressed, and ideas were put forward to the effect that at present, there are no reasons for a split between socialists and communists. It would be nice if they were nonexistent. But everything in life is much more complex. Speakers asked why some socialist parties are keener to cooperate with the bourgeoisie than with communists? In general, there is a great need to unite the two trends in the workers movement. This is in the interests of the working class and the people's masses. At the same time, there are major obstacles to such cooperation: remnants of old political thinking and old political prejudices, which hinder unity and must be eliminated jointly by both socialists and communists.

The section's work proceeded in an atmosphere of cooperation, in a spirit of freedom, brotherhood, independence, and quest for the best possible solutions to the complex questions of our life. A total of 52 people spoke, including 48 guests from abroad.

During the 3 days of work by the section on "Great October and Real Socialism," R.G. Yanovskiy said, there was a sincere, keen, and specific discussion of the comprehensive and profound assimilation of Great October's heritage, which makes it possible to make better use of the inexhaustible strength of socialism to solve current and future tasks. All this, it was noted in the discussions, makes it possible to raise society to a qualitatively higher level and ensure its steady dynamic growth as a system based on the noble ideals of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and on lofty scientific and moral principles.

Taking part in the free and comprehensive exchange of opinions were 34 scientists and public figures from 18 countries—representing not only Marxist-Leninist scientific thinking but also social democratic, socialist, and revolutionary democratic parties and organizations from Australia, Japan, Italy, the GDR, the CSSR, Mexico, Mongolia, Ethiopia, and other states.

The interest and activeness in the discussion of the concept of real socialism offer tangible proof that our meeting was creative and practically useful. It is an expression of the desire for joint scientific analysis of the trends and contradictions of socialist society.

Evidence of this can be seen in the broad range of questions that were touched upon, like the description of the essential nature of socialism, its historical prospects and methods of continuing the revolutionary transformations launched by Great October, specific features of socialist building in different countries, internationalization of historical experience, affirmation of the socialist nature of people's power, growth of man's role in building the new civilization, development of democracy and self-management, humanization of all spheres of social life, and others.

The discussion reflected the Soviet state's principled new foreign policy actions addressed to all mankind. They are an expression of our party's domestic and foreign policy, of its program goals and tasks. There was great interest in and support for the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the U.S. President, and the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the reduction of nuclear arms.

The discussion showed that a complex and contradictory process is now under way, a process of perceiving the realities of socialism and its position and role in the contemporary world and of shaping new political thinking. The discussion also showed that there is growing interest in the theory of socialism and in its creative development and improvement, based on real processes of restructuring and acceleration.

Fruitful and promising ideas were expressed during the exchange of opinions, ideas prompting reflection and study of key theoretical problems. It was noted in the speeches that real socialism is a living, dynamic society distinguished by its diversity. Socialism demands careful scientific study and further enrichment of theoretical views of the methods and ways for its self-renewal and self-improvement.

All this makes it possible to say that the conference participants are united by a common confidence that the chosen path is realistic and the assessment of achievements is correct. They are also united by a desire to accomplish even more to develop and strengthen socialism. The mutually useful dialogue, diversity of viewpoints, and variety of approaches and evaluations offer tangible proof of this.

The discussion that took place was characterized by the dialectical continuity of socialism's historical experience, a constructive approach toward resolving the tasks facing society, and the objective connection between Great October's revolutionary ideas and the modern nature of restructuring.

This idea was at the core of the discussion and predetermined its creative and constructive nature.

Of course, new qualitative improvements do not occur spontaneously. Full utilization of the new social system's theoretical, ideological, and educational potential and an honest and comprehensive analysis of mistakes in the past make it possible to lay the foundations today, and in the future will give a mighty acceleration to the development of socialism, to its improvement and advance toward communism.

The participants in the discussion stressed the need to pool even more firmly efforts in the study of general human problems of our time, in the quest for the best possible options for our advance toward communist civilization, the development of democracy and humanism, and to do everything possible to make science a genuine accelerator of progressive innovations in the social system and in human life.

Looking into the future, we must not forget that its foundations are being laid today. It is important to perceive the depth of reserves, the extent of hitherto unutilized opportunities, and the dimensions of the strata of knowledge, abilities, and skills which still have to be placed in the service of socialism and peace.

It is noteworthy that our rostrum was open to all who wished to participate in the discussions. We are grateful to the representatives of different parties and organizations for the free and keen dialogue that ensued.

It was emphasized in the section that we need a joint, keen quest for approaches toward a unified scientific concept of the development of progressive social thinking; a concept based on comprehensive consideration of national peculiarities, the priority of the human factor, and the achievements of contemporary social science.

Socialist society is on the path of tremendous changes and is at an important stage of its onward advance. The conference has reflected everything most valuable and most positive accumulated by social thinking in many countries. These achievements must be placed in the service of man and the progress of man's personality, the service of socialism and the cause of peace. This inspires us to a further creative quest and breeds unshakable confidence in the correctness and viability of the ideas of socialism and progress.

Allow me to express once more gratitude to the participants in our discussion for their useful contribution to the conference's work and to wish them further creative successes!

The work of the third section on the topic of "Great October and the Struggle for Peace and New Political Thinking" proceeded very intensively and, in general, fruitfully, in a spirit of amicable and meaningful discussion, P.N. Fedoseyev noted. All participants agreed on this assessment of the section's work. Sixty participants, including 45 guests from abroad, asked to speak. During the 3 days of free discussion, speeches were delivered by 47 speakers on the most diverse aspects of problems associated with the struggle for peace and international security and the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. It can be said with satisfaction that representatives of all continents spoke. They revealed the multifaceted aspects of the new political thinking and its effect on world development.

The entire discussion proceeded beneath the sign of the Washington summit meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan. The signing of the Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles certainly marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of international life.

Much attention was devoted to an examination of questions linked with the spread of new political thinking to the entire range of problems of social development and international relations. Emphasis was primarily placed on the role of new thinking as a contemporary world outlook and method for analyzing and solving new problems.

The following important question was also touched upon: new thinking and theoretical continuity. The new thinking is not something different from Marxism-Leninism. It is Marxism-Leninism's contemporary stance on fundamental general human problems. This is why the new thinking is not the monopoly of communists, and is something that people occupying different ideological-political positions are moving toward and arriving at in the quest for ways for mankind's survival.

The next group of questions concerned peaceful coexistence and the correlation of general human and class interests. Anxiety was expressed: Will the questions of the class and national liberation struggle not be pushed aside as a result of new approaches toward international relations? Peaceful coexistence and the priority of general human interests do not revoke the class and national liberation struggle. It was noted that the class struggle is more than just a struggle for peace.

But they must not be placed in opposition to one another. Peaceful coexistence cannot be simplistically interpreted as a negation of the class and national liberation struggle. We have admitted the inadequacy of the thesis that peaceful coexistence is a form of class struggle. But peaceful coexistence is not some sort of ideological or class appeasement; peaceful coexistence does not preclude but actually presupposes competition and rivalry between the two systems. It is linked with struggle against imperialism's aggressive plans and actions and means noninterference in internal affairs. This means that questions of the class struggle within a given country are matters of internal life.

There was a discussion of questions of the tactics and forms of antinuclear struggle, for lasting peace.

The speeches emphasized the need to achieve unity of all democratic forces, since the most effective solution of vital world problems can be achieved by combining national efforts and collective actions by socialist, developing, and capitalist states at all levels—state, party-political, and social.

Every country has its own sociopolitical structure, traditions, and ideological views.

It seems strange to demand the standardization of countries in these respects as a precondition for developing a broad international peace movement and as a condition for lasting peace. Such opinions do exist, and echoes of them could be heard also at our conference, at least in one of the speeches, which saw a restructuring of the Soviet political and legal structure according to the Western pattern as a condition for detente. It was correctly noted that in the struggle for peace, incorrect ideas of one another must be overcome, and prejudices, bias, suspicion, and mistrust must be cast off. It was emphasized during the discussions that the sovereignty of every state, the people's right to decide the question of socioeconomic and political structure, noninterference in internal affairs, and rejection of the imposition of one's own order on other countries are conditions of peaceful coexistence.

It must be said that the tasks of "mental restructuring" and organic perception of the new political thinking demand the greatest possible utilization of revolutionary dialectics—the main force of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. This applies especially to us, Marxist researchers and representatives of communist, workers, and socialist parties and national liberation movements participating in this conference. After all, we still encounter much scholasticism, onesidedness, and unwillingness to understand each other in mutual relations between representatives of progressive social science from different countries. New political thinking also means recognition of the fact that nobody has monopoly rights to interpret particular phenomena of reality in a complex, fast-changing world. The canonization of particular truths is alien to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism. The new processes of contemporary social development demand new approaches, bold generalizations, and abandonment of dogmatism and scholastic mythmaking.

The common opinion was this: October, the struggle for peace, and the new political thinking are indivisible. They are linked by a single root system, by a single system of values. This combination contains the main force of social progress, which now means the fusion of two basic processes: the struggle to preserve peace and the struggle to change and renew the world. Thus the new stage of history reveals the grandeur of October, which joined social progress and peace together for the first time in history.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev, Reagan Receive Letter on INF Pact

LD292055 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] San Francisco December 23 TASS—More than 400 local trade union members expressed their gratitude to the Soviet and American leaders for reaching a truly historical agreement on eliminating a whole class of nuclear weapons in a letter sent to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

They said that the treaty was a major step towards reducing nuclear arsenals and ridding the world of all nuclear means of destruction.

Gorbachev Walkabout in Washington Described

LD261858 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2030 GMT 25 Dec 87

[From the "View" program, presented by Vladimir Mukusev and Vladislav Listev with international affairs journalist Leonid Zolotarevskiy, date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Mukusev] Our guest today is Leonid Zolotarevskiy, the international affairs journalist. Recently there has been a series of telebridges between deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and U.S. congressmen. The telebridges were hosted on the Soviet side by Leonid Zolotarevskiy. He was also involved in covering the Washington meeting between the leaders of the two countries.

[Listev] Leonid Abramovich, we realize the importance of the meeting, as does the entire world, and it was given broad coverage in the news media. It would no doubt be interesting for you, as a journalist, to tell us and our viewers about the things that were not reported in the newscasts.

[Zolotarevskiy] What was not shown was, above all, the atmosphere, the mood. I would like to divide my impressions into two parts. Let us call the first part my serious impressions, the conclusions I came to myself as a journalist, as an international affairs journalist. The most important thing seems to me to be that summits—and everyone understands this now—are no longer events looked at in isolation, as some sort of high points amid the desert. They have become part of a process, and that is extremely important. The important thing is that this is a process that lasts from meeting to meeting and, even if at a specific meeting no new major or important documents are signed, the meeting still plays an immense role as a perceptible part of the process. Remember what happened at Reykjavik. Many people at the time said it was a failure. But we saw it as a great success even then, because in the process of the Reykjavik meeting a high level of understanding, of mutual understanding, was reached. That is why now when certain journalists wonder and guess at what is going to happen at the next meeting—for instance, whether a treaty on the 50% reduction of strategic offensive weapons will be signed—it seems to me that even if it is not ready by that time, and that is possible because the drawing up of such a treaty is a complex thing, then this will still be an extremely important landmark in the process.

Second, during those 3 days something occurred that perhaps had not happened during the decades since the war. A certain sharp change of attitude toward the Soviet Union, toward the Soviet people, took place. This happened, of course, to a significant degree, as the Americans themselves say, under the influence of the actual personality of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. That is, a stereotype was shattered, the stereotype that was instilled in the consciousness of ordinary Americans by the news media for many, many years.

[Listev] By the way, Leonid Abramovich, where did Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stop when he got out of his car?

[Zolotarevskiy] That was an interesting episode. Everyone saw what happened. The car stopped—by chance, as you will realize—beside a building that housed a restaurant. The restaurant was on the first floor, with a large balcony. The first person to jump out onto the balcony was the chef, who had a camera with him. He immediately took a photograph from above of Mikhail Sergeyevich, who was heading toward some Americans who had gathered and rushed over from all parts of the street. They say he got an enormous sum of money for the picture from THE WASHINGTON POST, because it was the first and only picture of that kind. Then others in the restaurant poured out onto the balcony, including the owner who started to shout aloud: Gorbachev, come here, I'll make you some borscht. [passage omitted]

Polls, Media Cited on Summit Meeting

LD272042 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 27 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 27 TASS—The outcome of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting remains to be the key topic in the U.S. political life. Numerous public opinion polls showed that the majority of Americans consider it to be the all-important event of the year and the treaty scrapping intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles signed by the leaders of the USSR and the United States as an historic event.

The majority but not all. Among this minority are also members of reactionary ultra-conservative organisations which make harsh attacks not only at the treaty but also at President Reagan for agreeing to sign this treaty. The important accords reached in Washington are, in the opinion of U.S. "madmen", a betrayal of the U.S. interests, backing away from almost all previous U.S. positions, and concessions to the USSR.

They discerned the "hand of Moscow" and "Kremlin's schemes" even in the work of the U.S. news media. It is exactly in this vein that an analysis of the activity of the country's three major television networks—ABC, CBS and NBC—to cover the summit meeting in Washington, released by the media research center, is coached. These networks are known to have the most important role to play in moulding public opinion in the United States. So, what was it in their work that went against the grain with the U.S. "hawks" employed by the center?

The fact that in the overwhelming majority of broadcasts devoted to the summit commentators, reporters and television newcasts anchormen spoke positively of the Soviet Union sparked grave concern among them. The authors of the report state that 85 per cent of all broadcasts were in favour of the USSR.

When at issue were the policy of openness and restructuring in the USSR, most of the participants in television broadcasts proceeded in their commentaries from the premise that these processes are real and do take place, Brent Bozell, director of the Media Research Center, laments. The authors of the report accused the television networks of abandoning ever more frequently in their activity shopworn stereotypes in covering events in the USSR such as, for instance, "Soviet expansionism," a term which used to be current in the U.S. news media. Instead of this, U.S. ultra-conservatives sound the alarm, the U.S. T.V. networks criticized some foreign policy standpoints of the U.S. Administration.

In those cases when the point at issue was the need to improve relations between the two countries, over three quarters of the television commentaries were positive, the study says furthermore. The similar picture was also observed in the T.V. networks' approach to the issues of ameliorating the international atmosphere and reducing strategic offensive armaments. The U.S. ultras are also discouraged by numerous commentaries launching the idea that such great powers as the USSR and the United States will be able to create by joint efforts a securer world.

'Discriminatory' Policy on Visas Hit

LD291515 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—A Soviet trade union leader today accused the U.S. State Department of pursuing a blatantly discriminatory policy against Soviet trade unions.

Speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents here, Gennadiy Yanayev, a secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, added that the State Department had denied entry visas to representatives of the Soviet working people and trade union officials more than 20 times since 1981.

"In the rare cases when entry in the United States was allowed, the visas, more often than not, were granted with discriminatory qualifications, obliging the Soviet trade unionists not to get into contact with representatives of the U.S. labor unions," Yanayev said.

The latest discriminatory action by Washington authorities, he told the briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Center, had been especially defiant.

"On December 11, the day after the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, the U.S. Embassy made an official notification about the refusal to grant visas to a delegation of Soviet workers invited by the LABOR TODAY newspaper.

"The composition of the Soviet delegation was completely as specified by the inviting side," Yanayev said.

He added that Soviet trade unions had been regularly hosting many hundreds of representatives of the U.S. working class and labor unions, including both official delegations and numerous tourist groups sponsored by labor unions.

The Soviet trade unionist described the situation as a "one-way street".

He said the importance of contacts and exchanges to better mutual understanding between the Soviet and American people had been confirmed at the last summit in Washington.

"It is logical to expect concrete shifts in this issue on the U.S. part," Yanayev said. "The sides are after all bound by certain commitments under the summit statement."

Shuttle Launch Delayed After Booster Test

LD300731 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 30 TASS—The launch of the shuttle, the first since the "Challenger" tragedy, will be delayed. The flight was scheduled for June 2, 1988, the UPI news agency quoted the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) as saying.

The delay in the shuttle launch came several days after full-scale test firing of the booster rocket at Morton Thiokol's plant. The test took place on December 23, four days later than initially planned, because of a problem with an ignition system. Immediately after the test firing, NASA spokesmen pronounced it successful. But a later examination revealed that a half-metre section of a nozzle split in the part which was strengthened during the redesigning of the booster rocket. The final results of the tests will become known after the booster will be disassembled for inspection.

This is the second in a series of four tests of the shuttle booster rockets. Work to modernise and test boosters started after the commission probing the "Challenger" disaster found that it was caused by defective O-ring joints.

Fire at MX Component Production Plant

LD292043 Moscow TASS in English 2030 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] New York December 29 TASS—A fire has sprung up today at an enterprise, producing components for American strategic MX nuclear first-strike missiles, near Brigham City, Utah. Tom Brown, a representative of the Morton Thiokol Corporation, which owns the plant, told journalists at the corporation's headquarters in Chicago that there were victims at the plant.

Vasilyev Scores U.S.-Israeli Alliance

LD242304 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—By TASS Commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev:

The United States and Israel have reached agreement on jointly developing an Israeli anti-missile defence system, the newspaper WASHINGTON TIMES quoted "military sources" as saying. The agreement covers the development of an Arrow missile designed for the destruction of tactical missiles with a range of up to 300 miles. An agreement on the implementation of that project was reached during the visit of Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhaq Rabin to the USA last week.

The new step in the way of strengthening military cooperation between the partners in the anti-Arab strategic alliance has been made at a time when Tel Aviv leveled repressions of unprecedented cruelty against the rebellious population of the Gaza sector and the West Bank of the Jordan River. Peaceful inhabitants—women, old people, and children—continue falling at the bullets of the Israeli punitive troops. Thousands of Palestinians have been thrown into Zionist jails which are already overcrowded.

The Arrow project clearly demonstrates the real worth of Washington's ambiguous calls to Israel that it display restraint and moderation, use rubber bullets and other means rather than firearms. Not astonishingly Tel Aviv has turned a deaf ear to these calls, and Rabin has ordered to continue the massacre of the protest demonstrations.

The developments in the Middle East in recent decades have convincingly demonstrated that it is only the unlimited U.S. military, economic and political aid that has enabled Israel to pursue its policy of aggression and territorial expansion against the Arab states and peoples, to hold and actively "develop" the Arab lands captured by force. A direct outcome of that incessant support are the current bloody crimes perpetrated by the Israeli occupiers. Washington has taken a hundred per cent pro-Israeli stance and is together with Tel Aviv denying the Arab people of Palestine the right to national self-determination and creation of their own independent state, is thus blocking the way towards a settlement of the pivotal problem of the Middle East conflict—the Palestinian one. Such a policy only puts off prospects for a just and truly lasting Middle East settlement, places on the United States direct responsibility for the sufferings and privations of the Palestinian Arabs.

U.S. Expands Search for Israeli Agents

LD282159 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 28 (TASS)—U.S. investigative organs engaged in the case of Jonathan Pollard, a former staff member of the intelligence service of the U.S. Navy, who was caught spying for Israel, decided to expand the range of search for his associates. Reagan administration officials, the UPI agency points out, are sure that Israel's espionage against the USA is going on.

Pollard's case, which triggered off a scandal in Washington and clouded usually cordial relations between "strategic allies", started in 1985 when Pollard was arrested near the Israeli Embassy in Washington with a sheaf of secret documents. A suitcase of such documents was also uncovered at his home. It transpired during the investigation that Pollard had handed over to staff members of the Israeli Embassy in Washington documents concerning American weapons systems, information from American spy satellites on secret facilities in Egypt, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The operation was orchestrated by high-ranking officials in Israel.

Pollard's trial was very brief, and the exposed spy was put behind bars for life. However, further investigation was complicated by Tel Aviv's opposition. At long last Israel was forced to beat a retreat and agreed to assist the investigation partially. True, it put forth a condition: Israeli citizens involved in the scandal should be granted immunity from criminal prosecution. The U.S. Justice Department refused to make a deal.

At present the investigation is going on. UPI points out that a group of which Pollard was a member was only a part of a far-flung network of Israeli agents in the USA, which had to fish for secret documents concerning systems of weapons, production technology of their latest models, especially nuclear arms. The Israeli spying network was engaged in this "fishing" in the past and, to all appearances, is doing this now.

Draft Budget Requires Closure of PLO Mission

LD250222 Moscow TASS in English 0012 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

President Reagan has signed a draft law on allocations for the work of the U.S. Department of State and a number of other foreign political agencies for fiscal 1988-1989 which was approved after a long debate by both chambers of U.S. Congress. It sets a ceiling of 8.3 billion dollars for the resources that can be allocated during this period for the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency and the Council for International Broadcasting

However, the essence of the document which has become a law consists in numerous amendments which are to serve as a sort of guidelines in the foreign political activities of the administration. Specifically, under the law the U.S. should close a mission of the permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the United Nations Organization. Even Phyllis Oakley, spokesman for the Department of State, had to admit that the putting into practice of this provision would run counter to the legal international commitments assumed by the U.S. under an agreement on the location of the U.N. Headquarters.

Arbitrary actions of the American law-makers have evoked already widespread indignation of the world community. Last week the session of the U.N. General Assembly approved with 145 votes a resolution confirming the right of PLO, a lawful representative of the Palestinian people, to have its mission at the U.N. Israel was the only country that voted against it. The U.S. refused to take part in the voting.

Surguchev Denounces U.S. Anti-Libya Stance

LD250217 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Igor Surguchev commentary]

[Text] THE NEW YORK TIMES, citing U.S. Administration representatives, has reported that a factory is being built in Libya which might possibly produce chemical weapons. The views of anonymous government officials and experts are quoted in the article unanimously expressing concern on account of the fact that Libya is supposedly on the threshold of producing chemical weapons, the use of which is prohibited by an international agreement—the Geneva Protocol of 1925. A Moscow radio commentary; at the microphone is Igor Surguchev.

[Surguchev] It is difficult to describe the publication in THE NEW YORK TIMES, clearly inspired by the Reagan administration, other than as an insinuation, in so far as all of it is based on conjectures, suppositions, and suspicions by those who supplied the newspaper with this—if you will permit me—"information" with an anti-Libyan bouquet. The unfriendly, or more correctly, hostile attitude of official Washington towards the Libyan Jamahiriyah is well-known; therefore, in principle, the appearance of such a publication in the U.S. press is a completely ordinary event. However, what attracts attention is the moment at which U.S. authorities deemed it expedient to present this Arab state in a negative light to Americans. I will recall that recently the Reagan administration again prolonged by half a year the effective period of the economic sanctions introduced unilaterally against Libya at the start of January 1986—almost 2 years ago.

Thus, using insinuations concerning Libya's desire to possess chemical weapons, the administration is seeking to convince U.S. public opinion of the just nature of its decision to prolong the anti-Libyan sanctions to which the White House resorted in its so-called struggle against international terrorism. Accusing Libya of international terrorism, for 2 years, Washington has been simply unable to present evidence which was in any way convincing of Libya's involvement in the like.

The unfounded accusations, on the basis of which this country was subjected not only to an economic boycott but a bandit armed attack by the United States, hung, as they say, in the air. It appears that even in the White House they understand the impossibility of breathing new life into these unproven accusations. It is for this reason that across the ocean they are now presenting such equally unfounded hints at Libya's production of chemical weapons.

Both the earlier assertions about Tripoli's involvement in international terrorism and the present-day conjectures have the same goal: to convince U.S. and world public opinion that Libya is a bad country and that, consequently, all the hostile actions undertaken against it by Washington are justified. The U.S. Administration is having to invent various accusations with regard to the Libyan Jamahiriyah because it is unable to admit directly that it can not stomach the independent and anti-imperialist course of this country, for which it is therefore striving to punish it. In so doing, the United States is acting like an international gendarme, trampling the norms of international law and the UN Charter.

U.S. Denies Report of Advisers in Afghanistan

LD291726 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 (TASS)—TASS Political News Analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The U.S. Department of Defense has asserted in a short statement that there are no U.S. military advisers in Afghanistan with a special emphasis laid on the word "no". According to a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Kabul numbers 20 people who are all working in the capital.

However, the question arises who was an American adviser killed during a combat operation staged by the Afghan Army which destroyed a big and well-fortified base of Afghan counterrevolutionaries near the city of

Khowst. There is no need to specify for which department he worked, whether it was the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency or any other less notorious institution following the orders of Washington. It is the orders that matter. Washington's line in Afghanistan is perfectly clear: It is rendering all-round assistance to the counterrevolutionaries, thus interfering in the internal affairs of that country, and is going to help them in the future in every way, i.e. to supply them with money and weapons and to send its instructors to Afghanistan for teaching counterrevolutionaries how to use the weapons.

In defiance of the prospects of a peaceful settlement that emerged as a result of a flexible policy pursued by Afghanistan and the USSR, U.S. President Reagan reiterated his support for Afghan counterrevolutionaries. The decision taken by U.S. Congress several days ago on increasing allocations for the so-called "humanitarian aid" also shows that the U.S. is going on with its policy of escalation of the undeclared war.

Washington has spent over a billion dollars on the aid to Afghan counterrevolutionaries since the beginning of the undeclared war against Afghanistan, while in the coming 1988 it is planning to spend for this purpose another billion dollars.

Part of the money will be spent on the organization of the training of counterrevolutionaries: At 120 camps and training centres situated on Pakistani territory U.S. instructors are teaching them methods of killing using the most up-to-date U.S. weapons, including anti-aircraft Stinger complexes, recoilless guns, large-calibre machine-guns, heavy mortars and the ground-to-ground missile-launching installations. Heaps of those weapons manufactured in the U.S. and other NATO countries were captured by Afghan troops during the destruction of counterrevolutionary bases near Khowst. It is by no means accidental that the American adviser whom Washington is trying to repudiate was found dead in that region where thousands of counterrevolutionaries were killed. Prisoners say during interrogation that American instructors raid Afghanistan together with counterrevolutionary gangs under the guise of journalists, filmmakers and physicians and take part in bloody crimes.

Counterrevolutionaries are guilty of the death of thousands of Afghans. They destroyed hundreds of schools, hospitals, mosques and bridges, brought down several civilian and transport planes. Not only the counterrevolutionaries but also their "teachers" no matter how they are called—instructors, advisers or anything else and for what department they are working, bear responsibility for those crimes. This is why the word "no", although it is specially emphasized in Washington's denial, sounds more than ambiguous.

Further Denial Reported

LD300258 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Afghanistan's deputy defense minister, Lieutenant General Muhammad Nabi Azimi, has told a news conference in Kabul that there was at least one American military adviser among those killed in the fighting near the city of Khowst. Washington has been quick to deny this. The United States Defense Department issued a statement saying that there were no United States military advisers in Afghanistan. On the same day, State Department Spokesman Phylis Oakley said there were no United States military advisers or officials with the rebels. However, Mrs Oakley recalled that some Americans did enter Afghanistan in the past. She said that two American journalists who stayed in Afghanistan with the counterrevolutionaries had been reported killed in October. There has been no confirmation from the administration.

Neither the Pentagon nor the State Department have denied the fact that alongside the rebels, the fighting in the Khowst area involved Pakistani troops and 50 military advisers from a number of countries having military agreements with the United States. The Afghan Army launched combat operations in the Khowst area, not far from the border with Pakistan, to end the blockade of the city. The population of Khowst was in a very difficult situation. Until recently, the only way of reaching the city and maintaining food supplies was by air. This has led to heavy casualties; scores of civilians died when their planes or helicopters were hit by Stinger rockets of American manufacture.

On Monday, Kabul Radio said the blockade of Khowst, a city with a population of 40,000, had been broken. The road between Khowst and Gardeyz, situated 72 miles away, has reopened for traffic and is said to be absolutely safe. The Afghan Army launched the operation to end the blockade of Khowst with support from several Soviet units after the counterrevolutionaries had dismissed all government proposals for a peaceful settlement.

The Afghan Government has conducted a national reconciliation policy for about 1 year now. Constitution has been promulgated, which allows opposition parties, private enterprise, and the freedom of Islam. Amnesty has been announced. As the result of reconciliation, tens of thousands of rebels have laid down their arms and returned to their families. More than 100,000 refugees have returned home from Pakistan and Iran.

For its part, the Soviet Union has repeatedly confirmed that it has made a political decision on the withdrawal of its troops within 12 months. It says that this deadline may be reduced. At the coming round of talks in Geneva where the United Nations envoy, Mr Cordovez, acts as mediator, agreement can be reached at an early date on this formula, a stop to military and financial aid to the rebels, and the simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet troops. However, American military aid to the antigovernment rebels to Afghanistan continues. In the 1987 fiscal year it totaled $670 million and in 1988 it will increase to $1 billion.

Nuclear Dumping on Marshall Islands Attacked

LD260918 Moscow TASS in English 2159 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—TASS News Analyst Vasily Kharkov writes:

The Republic of the Marshall Islands with which the USA has signed a compact of free association is prepared to allow the USA to bury radioactive wastes in some of the atolls of that Pacific archipelago. By means of this deal, the regime of President Amata Kabua imposed on the population of the Marshall Islands wants to get more handouts in dollars [sentence as received]. It receives a certain sum from the United States for the use of a range on Kwajalein Atoll whose lagoon is a target for intercontinental missiles launched from the West Coast of the USA. The base in Kwajalein Atoll is also used in the development of the "Star Wars" program.

The plan for the creation of a huge new nuclear dump on Bikini, Eniwetok and some other atolls in the Marshall Islands has assumed real contours. The U.S. budget for the 1988 fiscal year envisages appropriations for its implementation. It is reported that Japan is prepared to take part in the project in order to bury its nuclear waste in the area of those atolls.

Bikini and Eniwetok Atolls became known after U.S. atomic and hydrogen bombs were tested there. A radioactive fallout from those tests affected Japanese fishermen on the Fukuryu-Maru boat. The population of Bikini, Eniwetok and Kwajalein has a sorry lot. They had to move to other islands where they now lead a miserable existence. The United States paid small sums in compensation to those who suffered from nuclear tests. Even now, several decades since the tests, there are consequences of radiation. According to U.S. information the incidence of cancer on the Marshall Islands is the highest for the entire Pacific basin.

The population of the archipelago will have to pay a dear price for the subsidies promised by Washington to the regime of the Republic of Marshall Islands. The plans of the United States and Japan to turn the area into a large dump for radioactive wastes are fraught with most serious ecological consequences. Runit Island in Micronesia has already been turned into such a dump. And though it is covered with reinforced concrete the travellers are warned that one should keep as far as possible from that island over the next 25 thousand years.

The Treaty of Rarotonga under which the southern part of the Pacific has been proclaimed a nuclear weapons free zone prohibits the burial of radioactive wastes and radioactive substances in the area of the operation of that treaty. But the United States which refused to respect the will of 13 countries of the South Pacific forum now intends to challenge other peoples of a vast Asia-Pacific region.

For U.S. Media, 1987 Year of 'Big Lie'

LD291150 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0350 GMT 29 Dec 87

["The Opinion of a U.S. Magazine: 1987 was 'The Year of the Big Lie' for the United States"—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] Washington, Dec 29—TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports: According to tradition, the U.S. mass media are now summing up the past year. What was it like for the United States? How can it best be described? Asking itself these questions, the magazine THE WASHINGTON POST MAGAZINE called 1987 "the year of the big lie." [passage omitted]

As for doubts in the honor of several U.S. journalists, they are very well-founded. One example of blatant lying has just been given by another U.S. magazine: LIFE. In its issue summing up last year and called "1987 in Photos" it has published a photograph taken in the spring at a Soviet news conference in Washington when U.S. reporters were shown bugging equipment installed in the new building of the USSR Embassy by the U.S. secret services.

But LIFE, turning the facts on their head, accompanied this picture with the following caption: "The new U.S. Embassy building in Moscow is stuffed with Soviet bugging devices". In this way the magazine decided to "help" U.S. officials who in speaking of "Soviet espionage against the U.S. Embassy" have never once supported their accusations with a demonstration of material evidence. So that the reader should have no doubt that he is seeing "Soviet devices," Russian names on the name plates in front of those taking part in the news conference were blacked out in the photo carried by the magazine.

When the TASS correspondent phoned the editorial board of LIFE to find out how the magazine decided to lie so brazenly, they promised to investigate and call back. That was yet another little lie in the "year of the big lie": no one investigated, and no one phoned back.

China

Li Peng Speaks on Defense Industry Reform

LD291721 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Beijing December 29 (TASS)—According to a XINHUA agency report, Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, acting premier of the PRC State Council, addressed an all-China meeting on planning in the field of defense science, technology and industry in 1988. He said that as the numerical strength of the Chinese Army and the number of weapons in the country is being reduced, demands on their quality and properties at the same time increase. "We must preserve our defense capacity at the proper level, which will play an important role both in the defense of peace the world over and in preserving the country's security."

The head of the Chinese Government positively appraised the achievements in the field of defense science, technology and industry of China made in recent years. Touching upon the reform of the system of research in the field of the country's defense, Li Peng said that the introduction of the contractual system and the elimination of wage-levelling are in themselves an important reform. Besides the defense industry is also faced with the task of transition to the production of civilian commodities. This is already done at a number of defense industry enterprises. "In developing work in that field it is yet necessary to assign much importance to research in the field of defense and arms manufacture," he stressed.

Federov Views Thai, PRC Relations With Laos

OW301405 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Federov commentary]

[Text] Tension has again risen in the Thai-Lao border area. The Thai air force jets bombarded the [city name indistinct] border area, and Thai artillery forces used 105 and 155 mm cannons to shell Lao territory for several hours. In this connection, our station observer Federov writes the following commentary:

Lao Vice Foreign Minister Salitthilat described the Thai action as the most serious provocation in the past 12 months. This is the first time that the Bangkok authorities mobilized military aircraft in their anti-Lao action. Vientiane's PASASON lamented that Bangkok did not draw lessons from the incident in the summer of 1984, during which Thailand could have learned that the use of force is not the way to solve problems between states. It seems that the initial progress achieved in Lao-Thai relations will be forsaken. It is regrettable that the latest incident occurred at a time when the Lao proposal for holding the third round of talks on improvement of ties and development of trade was under study in Bangkok. While one side was showing its sincerity by proposing normalization of ties, the other side launched attacks on the former. Obviously Vientiane and Bangkok are speaking two different languages.

It is also regrettable that the renewed conflict took place at a time when the situation in Southeast Asia had begun to relax. The dialogue between all parties in Cambodia has given the hope for a political settlement of the Cambodian question. Laos and China have also reached an agreement to improve bilateral relations. Thailand has transferred its troops from the Thai-Cambodian border to the (?interior) area, thus leading to a relaxation of the situation in the region. However, under such circumstances favorable for a relaxed situation, the Thai troops, without any reason, launched a large-scale armed provocation against Laos. Deterioration of Thai-Lao relations can slow down the relaxation of tension in Southeast Asia. Are not the people in the region paying a dear price for the ambition of certain people in the Thai ruling clique?

Soviet-Chinese Cooperation in Textiles Noted

OW290839 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Article by station reporter Yefimov: "The Road to Friendly Cooperation"]

[Text] Over 1 year ago, the Soviet Machinery Export Corporation and the Chinese National Machinery Import and Export Corporation signed a contract under which the Soviet corporation will supply a large number of modern textile machines to China. The delivery of the first shipment, totaling 250 units, to the [name indistinct] textile plant will soon be completed. In this connection, station reporter Yefimov writes:

What sorts of weaving machines are these that can weave silk and nylon fabrics ranging from 2.5 to 3.3 m wide? Why does China want to buy them? First of all, I think it is because they are automatic spinning machines that can be operated at high speed. Second, these machines can substantially lessen labor intensity, and they are much easier to operate than (?jet loom) spinners. These spinners can also process a great variety of silk products. While visiting the spinner manufacturing plants in Novosibirsk and [name indistinct], Chinese experts examined the machines carefully. In the spinning mills in Moscow and Kiev, they learned the strong points of these machines by observing their operation.

The first shipment of these spinners will be delivered to five silk mills in Shanghai. Engineers and technicians of the manufacturers of these spinning machines will go to China to help install these machines and train operators.

It should be pointed out that the export of these spinning machines to China benefits both the USSR and China. While China will acquire the highly (?sophisticated) modern equipment it needs to upgrade its technology, the Soviet Union will have a larger share of Chinese silk and silk products, which have a wide market in the Soviet Union.

I also want to point out that the cooperation between textile workers of the USSR and China has in fact reinstated the two countries' cooperation in the field of light industry. Cooperation in this area began over 20 years ago. In those days, the first few textile enterprises in China were equipped with Soviet-made machinery. Thus, the new contract can also be called a new step on the silk road.

PRC Health Official on Cooperation With Soviets

OW281157 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Station observer Dmitriyev's interview with Song Jingfu, head of the delegation of the PRC Ministry of Public Health; date not given — recorded]

[Text] Respected listeners: How are you? We have reported that a delegation of the Chinese Ministry of Public Health is currently visiting the USSR, and members of the delegation are having discussions with their Soviet counterparts on prospects for the two countries' cooperation in the health sphere. I have interviewed Comrade Song Jingfu, director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Chinese Ministry of Public Health. Here is the recording of the interview:

[Begin recording] [Dmitriyev] Would you please tell us what is the purpose of your visit?

[Song Jingfu] The delegation of the Chinese Ministry of Public Health is currently visiting the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Health. The main purpose of our visit here is to discuss the two countries' long-term cooperation in the health sphere in accordance with the Sino-Soviet Agreement on Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technological Cooperation.

[Dmitriyev] I understand that there have been discussions on resuming the two countries' cooperation in public health.

[Song Jingfu] Sino-Soviet cooperation in health can be traced back a long time. The two countries were engaged in many cooperative projects during the 1950's. Later, because of reasons known to all, there was not much contact between the two countries. Although there is no official health cooperation agreement between the two countries, contacts between doctors of the two countries have been maintained in recent years one way or another, such as under the cultural, scientific-technological agreements between the two governments, or agreements between the friendship associations of the two countries. These contacts, however, have nothing to do with the Chinese Ministry of Public Health. Our delegation is the first delegation dispatched to the USSR by the Chinese Ministry of Public Health.

[Dmitriyev] Can you tell us in what areas cooperation will be possible?

[Song Jingfu] Cooperation may be possible in microscopic eye surgery, acupuncture, cardiovascular diseases, and tumors. We will also consider cooperation in research on medicinal herbs and health criteria. Cooperation in these six major areas, however, is only the first step of Sino-Soviet cooperation in the field of health. We hope that, during our visit here, both sides will have a consensus of views and sign an agreement by which actual cooperation may start next year.

[Dmitriyev] Finally, would you tell us your impression of your visit? What is your view of the Soviet success in its health development?

[Song Jingfu] We have so far visited only three institutes: the Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases—primarily the department of cardiovascular disease prevention; the advanced teacher-training college; and the Institute of Microscopic Eye Surgery. We are very impressed by the Soviet Union's care for its people's health. Prevention of cardiovascular diseases is very important. China has also started prevention work in this area, and I think this is an area with cooperation potentials because both countries will encounter similar problems. Advanced training for teachers is also an issue of worldwide interest. China is also considering how to provide proper training for its doctors. The Soviet college was set up 57 years ago and I think it has accumulated very precious experiences. It is also one of the colleges in the world sponsoring the World Health Organization's cooperation projects. If possible, we think we will carry out some cooperative projects in this area. We are most impressed by the Institute of Microscopic Eye Surgery we visited this afternoon. This institute was set up by its president, Petrov, who has developed a new surgery method resembling an assembly line. He has successfully introduced an industrial concept into the medical field. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

KCNA Raps U.S. Reconnaissance Flights Over DPRK

LD292032 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Pyongyang December 29 TASS—An American Reconnaissance plane CR-71 today made a flight over the eastern coast of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, having intruded into the airspace of the country over territorial waters in the sea of Japan, the KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY reported.

There were over 130 such acts of air espionage against the DPRK this year, the report says. The actions of the American side show that it declares only in word for relaxation of tension on the Korean Peninsula. The United States in deed continues the confrontation course.

Washington should stop armed provocations which are contrary to the interests of ensuring peace and relaxing tension in the Korean Peninsula, the Korean Central News Agency says in its report.

Further on Signing of USSR-Japan Fishing Pact

OW300841 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] The fourth session of the Soviet-Japanese Commission on Fishing reached an agreement on 28 December. The session had been in progress at the Soviet Ministry of the Fish Industry in Moscow since 24 November.

The commission discussed such issues as fishing operations in the respective 200-mile zone, 1988 catch quotas, operational regulations and enforcement of the regulations.

As a result of the discussions, the two sides agreed to set each country's 1988 quota at 210,000 tons, a 10,000-ton increase over 1987.

Furthermore, Japan may catch an additional 100,000 tons of fish in the Soviet 200-mile zone by paying 1,710 million yen in compensation.

It was agreed that fishing operations can start on 1 January 1988. It was also agreed that Japan should allow the Soviets use of some Pacific Ocean ports for replenishing food and water supplies and allowing shore leave for crews.

The protocols were signed by representatives of both sides at the Ministry of the Fish Industry on 28 December. Kudryavtsev, first deputy minister of the Soviet Fish Industry Ministry, was also present at the signing ceremony.

After the protocols were signed, Zilanov, chief of the Ministry's Foreign Relations Administration and head of the Soviet delegation, made a speech praising the successful conclusion of the fourth session of the Soviet-Japanese Commission on Fishing.

"The signed protocols regulate fishing operations in each country's 200-mile zone. Both sides have improved conditions for their fishing fleets. I am sure this is a great achievement of this session.

"Both sides have solved the very difficult problems of regulating operations in each other's 200-mile zones and supervising compliance with the regulations.

"The commission also discussed possible scientific and technological cooperation in research. I believe that the joint investigations can promote the rational use of marine fauna in the northwest Pacific.

"Through the discussions and negotiations I have had in the session, I have been able to better understand Japan's standpoint. I think that similarly, the Japanese side has been able to better understand our standpoint.

"We are confident that the mutual understanding reached at this time will not be confined to fishing, but be extended to improve the relationship of the two neighboring countries in wider aspects," Zilanov said.

Following Zilanov's speech, the Soviet Fish Industry Ministry's chief of foreign relations administration and Unno, chief of the Japanese Fishery Agency's Deep-Sea Fishery Department and head of the Japanese delegation, made remarks of greeting.

[Begin recording] [Unno] "We have reached an agreement today, bringing to fruition the efforts and wisdom contributed by all delegation members for more than a month. I would like to thank you all.

"As I always say, the 200-mile zones of the Soviet Union and Japan in the North Pacific are seas of treasures. I hope that both countries will benefit further by developing cooperative relations through their efforts and wisdom.

"When we first sat down at this session, we were very far apart in our views, but have been able to reach a compromise allowing the fishing boats of both countries to sail beginning New Year's Day. I extend my deep thanks to delegation chief Zilanov and all the members of the delegation and I wish the best for the fishing industries of both countries in 1988." [end recording]

Cultural Pact Instruments Exchanged in Tokyo

LD250618 Moscow TASS in English 0609 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Tokyo December 25 TASS—Today Nikolay Solovyev, USSR ambassador to Japan, and Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno exchanged instruments of ratification of the agreement between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of Japan on cultural relations signed in Moscow on May 31, 1986.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Hun Sen Appointed Foreign Minister

LD301022 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Phnom Penh December 30 TASS—The Council of State of Kampuchea relieved Foreign Minister Kong Korm of his post and appointed him minister for social development and culture at the Council of Ministers, the SPK news agency has reported.

The Foreign Minister's portfolio was given to Prime Minister Hun Sen, who will hold both posts.

DRA's Najibullah, Delegation Arrive in Cambodia

LD292215 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 29 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent Yevgeniy Kachanov reports from Phnom Penh.

[Kachanov] An Afghan party and state delegation headed by Afghanistan's President Najibullah arrived in Phnom Penh today on an official, friendly visit. At the airport the delegation was welcomed by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea [PRPK] and chairman of the PRK Council of State, other leaders of party and state, and representatives of the diplomatic corps and the Cambodian public. The Afghan and Cambodian national anthems were played. The Afghan and Cambodian leaders inspected the honor guard formation. [video shows Najibullah coming down plane steps receiving garland of flowers and being greeted by Heng Samrin.]

Thousands of Phnom Penh residents, blue and white collar workers, students, and schoolchildren came out into the streets to welcome the lofty Afghan guest. Phnom Penh is decorated with the national flags of Afghanistan and Cambodia as well as banners and slogans about strengthening Cambodian-Afghan friendship. A brief meeting took place in the governmental residence between Najibullah and Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the PRPK and chairman of the PRK Council of State.

Comrade Najibullah and those accompanying him laid a wreath at the war monument. The Afghan delegation visited a museum to commemorate the victims of the genocide regime in Tors Leng. At the museum the Afghan president left his signature in the book of honored guests. Then Comrade Najibullah acquainted himself with a national exhibit giving an account of the achievements of the PRK on the path to building a new life.

Defense Minister Yazov Greets SRV's Le Duc Anh

PM291757 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Dec 87 Second Edition p 1

[Defense Minister Yazov greetings to SRV counterpart on Vietnamese People's Army anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Army General Le Duc Anh, SRV national defense minister

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally, I cordially congratulate you and all Vietnamese servicemen on the 43d anniversary of the Vietnamese People's Army.

Soviet servicemen regard the friendship and cooperation between the USSR Armed Forces and the SRV as the priceless property of our peoples and as a clear example of socialist internationalism in action.

I wish you and all servicemen of the Vietnamese People's Army every success in fulfilling tasks set by the Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress to further strengthen the SRV's defense capability.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Near East & South Asia

Afghanistan Denounces U.S. CBW Decision

LD292319 Moscow TASS in English 2309 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Kabul December 29 (TASS)—The Afghan Foreign Ministry has resolutely denounced the U.S. decision to start manufacturing binary chemical weapons.

The American Administration undertook this militarist action at the time when substantial progress had been made at the Geneva talks on a comprehensive ban of all chemical weapons, the ministry's statement says.

Such an irresponsible step, the statement goes on to say, could untwist in the near future a new spiral of the chemical weapons race and pose a serious threat to peace and security.

First Afghan Motor Convoy Leaves Khowst

LD301123 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Gardeyz (Afghanistan) December 30 TASS—TASS Correspondent Oleg Kuzmin reports:

The first motor convoy with cargoes for the population of Khowst District set out from Gardeyz (the eastern province of Paktia) today.

As a result of a successful combat operation, Afghan troops with the assistance of Soviet servicemen-internationalists fully cleared the Gardeyz-Khowst important strategic road from counter-revolutionary groups on December 29, thereby breaking the blockade during which part of Khowst District and the city of Khowst have been besieged for almost nine years.

The operation to break the blockade of Khowst was carried out in two stages. At first Afghan and Soviet units reached Sataw Kandaw mountain pass. Then, by a decision of the Loya Jirgah in Kabul, combat operations were suspended in a search for ways for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the people's government and detachments of Pashtun Jadran tribe which holds extremist positions.

However, the counter-revolutionaries, with foreign advisers among them, refused to negotiate. At the second stage of the operation, the counter-revolutionary groups were routed and pushed away from the road.

Up to 2,000 bandits were killed during the fighting, and a large amount of ammunition, food and medicines was captured. The counter-revolutionaries had to abandon Sharanah—their main basing area near the border with Pakistan.

Soviet journalists who visited Sharanah could see for themselves the existence of close connections between extremists from among the group led by Jalalluddin [Haqqani]—whom counter-revolutionary leaders had appointed to be the 'commander-in-chief' of rebel forces of that part of Afghanistan—and foreign advisers.

Counter-revolutionaries who fled towards the border left behind tens of depots with ammunition and up-to-date weapons, including U.S. and British-made ones.

In particular, in one of depots located near Jalaluddin's headquarters, there remained boxes intended for Stinger and Blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles. Discovered there were also personal things belonging to Western advisers as well as photographs showing foreigners in Afghan garb.

Combat operations are now completed, in the main. The search for and destruction of counter-revolutionary depots are going on.

An Afghan command spokesman has said that almost 24,000 tons of cargoes are to be delivered to Khowst from Gardeyz within a month to meet the population's requirements for food and prime necessities.

Armed Groups Discontinue Fight in Afghanistan

LD291636 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Kabul December 29 TASS—Six anti-Government groups have discontinued the armed fight in Baghlan, Kabul, Faryab, and Konduz Provinces, the BAKHTAR news agency has reported.

Many of the former opponents of the people's power have joined self-defence detachments to repulse extremist groups' attacks.

Over the past seven days 1,460 Afghan citizens, who had left their native land by virtue of various circumstances, returned from Pakistan and Iran to Herat, Farah, Faryab, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul Provinces.

Yet another goup of prisoners has been released from custody in Balkh Province in accordance with the presidential decree on amnesty.

At the same time part of intransigent counter-revolutionaries continue to terrorise local population, which compells the country's security forces to conduct operations to rout those groups. In Paghman District of Kabul Province Afghan Army units seized a depot with surface-to-surface missiles belonging to counter-revolutionaries.

In Karcai District of Langhman Province security forces did away with an arms caravan which extremists intended to lead to the country's hinterland. During the operation a greater part of counter-revolutionaries were killed, and a large amount of foreign-made arms captured.

At the same time U.S. aid to the Afghan insurgents continuously grows. U.S. CIA agents train the insurgents who are on Pakistani territory in handling up-to-date weapons, including Stinger missiles.

This was reported in a TV newsreel of the CBS TV network.

It was pointed out in the newsreel that hundreds of advisers gave every kind of support to the rebels—from economic aid to the training of armed groups—in Pakistani areas which border on Afghanistan.

TASS Notes Foreigners Held in Afghanistan

LD301200 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Kabul, 30 Dec (TASS)—In the recent period reports have been appearing more and more frequently in the Western mass media concerning the disappearance or death of foreign citizens who have illegally penetrated the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan. In this regard a report by the BAKHTAR agency points out that the main threat to the security and lives of foreign citizens in Afghanistan is presented by the continuously worsening conflict between armed groups of rebels of various orientations, the particular position of individual leaders of the counterrevolution with regard to foreigners, in particular Hekmatiyar, and also the individuals' possession of large amounts of money and valuable equipment. [passage omitted]

At the present time the Afghan organs are holding the Italian citizen Fausto Bolislavo [name as received], who was detained in the course of the routing of an implacable group of rebels that had provoked an armed clash with government forces in the province of Laghman. The competent Afghan organs have brought criminal charges in the case of the illegal penetration into Afghanistan by F. Bolislavo and his presence in the ranks of an armed antigovernment grouping.

The organs of the Republic of Afghanistan have completed investigations in the case of the French citizen Alain Guillo, who illegally penetrated the territory of Afghanistan and was engaged in collecting information concerning the state and military interests of the Republic. The trial of the person cited will take place in the near future, the BAKHTAR report notes.

'Inflammatory' Remarks' on Afghanistan Rebuffed

PM301201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 87
Second Edition p 5

[Arkadiy Maslennikov "Commentator's Column": "Who Is Hindering a Settlement"]

[Text] The last days of the departing year have been marked by a whole stream of statements by statesmen of Western countries on the question of the situation around Afghanistan. Attempts to distort the essence of this painful problem, to shield those who are really to blame for exacerbating it, and to blame the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan for delaying a settlement are a common feature of these statements.

Thus, an official statement by British Foreign Secretary G. Howe, published by Whitehall, claims, for example, that the policy of national reconciliation being implemented by the Afghan Government "is just an attempt to impose by political means what the Russians have failed to impose by military means." Appropriating the right to speak on behalf of the people of Afghanistan, the head of the British Foreign Office declares that "not a single Afghan patriot can agree to this." Mr Howe makes out that he has not heard a word about the Soviet Union's proposals to withdraw its limited military contingent from Afghanistan within a strictly defined time if the United States and its Western allies adopt pledges not to supply weapons to antigovernment forces and not to carry out new interference in the affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. A statement by the U.S. President is also imbued with overtly provocative appeals to Afghan counterrevolutionaries to "wage a constant struggle."

These inflammatory appeals are also echoed by constant recipients of the ever greater military aid earmarked for escalating the armed struggle against the Afghan revolution. In Islamabad recently Pakistani Foreign Minister Noorani pledged "not to compromise" on the question of the search for ways to settle the Afghan problem. Is it any wonder that those who are directly maintained by these circles reject point-blank not only all compromises but also the very idea of talks aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan under UN auspices?

Thus, the political chain linking the Western champions of Afghanistan's "freedom" and "self-determination" with the most double-dyed Afghan reaction, which has made a profession out of mass terror against supporters of democratic transformations in its own country, is closed. The complaints being aired today in London, Washington, and other Western capitals about "the Afghan people's incredible suffering" sound truly blasphemous against the background howling of Stingers and Blowpipes knocking civilian aircraft out of the Afghan skies.

The way to a peace settlement in Afghanistan, as increasingly broad international circles acknowledge today, lies not via the injection of an ever greater quantity of modern arms into that country but via the policy of national reconciliation being pursued by the Afghan Government.

USSR Provides Power Assistance to Afghanistan

LD210556 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 20 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent A. Petrova report]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent A. Petrova, identified by screen caption] Winter is a difficult time for the Afghans. Even if the snow now lies only on the mountain tops, it is only for a very short time that the land and the people are warmed by the sun. The cold night mist, which in the true meaning of the word envelops the entire country, descends early. You see, you can count the regions in which there is electrical power, and even in these there is not enough of it, even in the daytime. Those who are a bit richer have their small diesel generators, but the poor warm themselves however they can—over glowing embers or a small stove. Fuel and electrical power are very limited. Here, each year Soviet aid gets more and more tangible. [passage omitted]

On this, the Afghan minister of Electrical Energy Paktin said:

[Begin Paktin recording, in Dari with superimposed Russian translation] We have just had a delegation from Uzbekistan here, and before that from the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Orenburg oblast. All of these direct sponsorship links are concrete aid. It is the construction of power stations, the building of power lines, the supply of equipment, the training of our specialists, and holidays for the families of Afghan power workers in the Soviet Union, free of charge. Currently, the free aid comes to 2.5 million rubles. Without this, there would be no Afghan power engineering. [end recording]

Economic Aid for Afghan Industry Viewed

PM291618 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87
Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report under the general heading "In the Latitudes of Cooperation"]

[Text] Kabul, 22 Dec—The Soviet Union gives economic and technical assistance to Afghan private businessmen in setting up enterprises to produce essential output for the country.

To this end there are to be deliveries of Soviet equipment for two bakeries, four confectionery factories, and two salt purification shops. The USSR will give assistance in the setting up of four construction companies in

Kabul, Konduz, Mazar-e Sharif, and Sheberghan. The Soviet side is already helping with the construction of 15 bakeries in various regions of Afghanistan.

Although such enterprises are small in capacity, they do not require significant capital investments and soon pay for themselves; most importantly, they will provide the salt, bread, and confectionery that are so badly needed by the inhabitants of Afghan cities. Bread and tea have hitherto been the main dishes on the tables of ordinary Afghans.

Cooperation between private businessmen and Soviet organizations is a fact characteristic of the present situation in Afghanistan. It reflects the desire of business circles to step up their contribution to the country's economy and promote the success of the national reconciliation policy. Soviet credit, granted on privileged terms, supports these efforts. Businessmen intend, with the help of the credit, to build a number of projects in the processing, food, light, and other sectors of industry.

Afghan Envoy on Prospects for King's Return

PM291452 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 88 p 9

[Interview with Abdol Samad Azhur, Afghan ambassador to India, by own correspondent Yuriy Kulikov in Delhi: "The King and the Paths of Reconciliation"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Delhi—I met with Abdol Samad Azhur, Afghan ambassador to India, the day after Afghan President Najibullah visited India on his way to Vietnam and Cambodia and had talks with Rajiv Gandhi. He is the first representative of Kabul at such a high level to come here since 1978. As the TIMES OF INDIA stressed, the unofficial nature of the talks does not lessen their importance, since they took place at a critical moment when the Afghan problem is the subject of priority attention in all the world's capitals.

Naturally, my conversation with the ambassador turned to the prospects for the national reconciliation which first appeared last year.

[Abdol Samad Azhur] There are two paths—peace and the continuation of war. But why kill your compatriots? We have very few people who are really irreconcilable to each other, and not all who have left did so for reasons of principle. It was risky to stay. When security is guaranteed, many refugees will return, especially since we are prepared to share power with the opposition and give it some of the ministerial portfolios and army posts.

[Kulikov] Even the former king? (I asked, showing A. Azhur a new issue of the WASHINGTON TIMES reporting that Zahir Shah will supposedly be coming from Rome to the restored throne.)

[Abdol Samad Azhur] Well, as for the throne, there can be no going back to that. Zahir Shah can come to the country, but not as monarch. True, the king's position is not very clear to me personally, because he often changes it and cannot finally decide what he wants. If he is able to take a healthy attitude to the events in the country, then he is welcome, and why not? We will greet him as a familiar person acceptable to both sides, if only because he did not wage war on anyone and is not involved in violence. Moreover, although Zahir Shah is an old man of 73, he could be offered the post of prime minister. On condition, of course, that he supports the national consensus. M.S. Gorbachev rightly said at the Washington meeting: The commencement of the withdrawal of Soviet troops must be simultaneous with an end to aid in weapons and finance to the dushmans. We do not want to lose the USSR's support while the United States is provoking war. That is dangerous to the entire region.

[Kulikov] In the course of the talks between Najibullah and R. Gandhi they discussed the negative U.S. influence on the regional atmosphere, mainly through Pakistan. Dushmans and Sikh separatists are trained there. Afghanistan and India have one and the same unfriendly neighbor.

[Abdol Samad Azhur] However, that does not mean that we and India are united in hatred of Pakistan. We are in favor of cooperation. Talks are taking place in Geneva through D. Cordovez, the UN secretary general's representative. The timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops is on the agenda. Formerly Pakistan proposed a period of 3-4 months, while we proposed 4 years. At the last round Afghanistan settled on 16 months. But during the recent Loya Jirgah Najibullah said, to many people's surprise, that he had decided to implement this action in the course of a year. It is only right to expect readiness for compromises from Pakistan too.

Akhromeyev Ends Visit to India 25 Dec

LD251005 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] New Delhi December 25 TASS—Marshall Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, first deputy minister of defence of the USSR, has ended an official friendly visit to India. He was staying there on the invitiation of Denis Anthony La Fontaine, chairman of the Committee of the Chiefs of Staff of India's Armed Forces, chief marshal of aviation.

Marshal Akromeyev conducted talks with senior officials of the Defence Ministry and the command of India's air, ground and naval forces, visited an armoured division in the central military district, a ship-repairing works of the Navy in Vizagapatnam and also an air base in Puna.

The visit helped further to extend and strengthen cooperation between the two countries in the military field.

Met by Kulikov, Lushev

PM301437 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union S. F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, who was on an official visit to India, returned to Moscow 25 December.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev was met at the airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; and other generals and officers.

The military, air, and naval attache at the Republic of India Embassy in Moscow was among the welcoming party.

Ivanov, Indian Officials Discuss Cooperation

LD250956 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] New Delhi December 25 TASS—Some aspects of international economic relations and ways for expanding mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and India were in the focus of attention during a series of meetings here between Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission under the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Sukhmoy Chakravarty, chairman of the Economic Advisory Council to the prime minister of India.

According to Indian press reports, the meetings demonstrated the proximity of both countries' views on modern processes taking place in the world economy.

During a meeting with members of the Soviet delegation P. Shiv Shankar, minister of planning and programme implementation of India, said that trade between India and the U.S.S.R. was developing successfully.

Proceeding from the current trends, India hopes that Soviet-Indian trade will double in the coming five years, the minister observed.

USSR, Pakistan Sign 1988 Trade Protocol

LD300412 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] A protocol on trade between the USSR and Pakistan, as well as other documents regulating bilateral trade in 1988 were signed in Islamabad today. The protocol provides for a further growth in trade between the two countries. The Soviet Union will export to Pakistan different kinds of machinery and equipment, fertilizers, nonferrous metals and other products. Clothing, leather, textiles, cotton, and cotton and worsted goods will be supplied by Pakistan to the USSR.

UK Paper Rapped on Gulf Tension Claims

PM291639 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent A. Lyutyy "Rejoinder": "Distorting Mirror"]

[Text] London, 28 Dec—Bravo! At last a Fleet Street newspaper has been found to dispel the doubts of certain Britons who were tormented by the question of just who is still preventing peace and tranquillity in the Persian Gulf. A recent issue of THE DAILY TELEGRAPH published an article naming the guilty party—the USSR. It wrote in black and white that the Soviet Union "for several months now has been putting the brakes" on the UN efforts to settle the situation in the region.

Why? The newspaper has a ready answer to this: "Russia hopes to secure a bridgehead in a region of vital importance to the West. If major new oil fields are not discovered soon in the USSR, that region could become a territory of ever greater significance to it." It cites as evidence of the USSR's "economic expansion"... the Soviet Union's appeal for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and its assistance to Kuwait in transporting its oil across the Persian Gulf.

In maliciously slandering the USSR the newspaper overlooked these obvious facts. It is not the Soviet Union but the United States and its Western allies, including Britain, that are increasing their naval presence in the Persian Gulf, thereby inflaming the situation. It is not the USSR but the West that is rendering virtually impossible normal, safe shipping in that part of the world while campaigning verbally for freedom of navigation. And as for the UN efforts to which THE DAILY TELEGRAPH refers, it is well known that the USSR wholly supports UN Security Council resolution 598, advocating an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of the navies of all countries not belonging to the region. The USSR also proposes entrusting the functions of maintaining freedom of navigation to a specially formed UN naval force.

This sensible approach is meeting with ever greater approval in the world. This is precisely why it is not to the liking of those people in the West who would like to keep a naval armada in a strategically important region and use it for policing purposes. Reflecting the viewpoint of such circles, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH urges the West on no account to agree to the creation of a multinational UN force. Instead, the newspaper proposes without a hint of embarrassment... hoisting the blue UN flag on the masts of the warships which are now patrolling the region.

It is not hard to perceive in this an attempt to conceal arbitrary behavior in the Gulf behind the name of the United Nations. The initiators of such proposals ought to be well aware that the fueling of tension in the region, whatever is used to conceal it, accords with no one's interests, including the interests of Western states.

Jordan's King Husayn Discusses Moscow Visit

PM291705 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with King Husayn of Jordan by K. Geyvandov and M. Kozhevnikov in Moscow: "The Time for Specific Steps Has Come"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] King Husayn ibn Talal of Jordan, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union, kindly consented to give an interview to IZVESTIYA, and invited us to the official guests' residence situated within the Kremlin in Moscow. It was late evening. He, accompanied by his wife, Queen Nur, and other members of the Jordanian delegation, had just returned from the Bolshoy Theater, where they had seen V. Gavrilin's ballet "Anyuta."

"That was an amazing, wonderful spectacle! We all are simply enthralled!", King Husayn exclaimed. Then, switching to a businesslike tone, suggested that we begin the conversation.

Question. The latest events on Arab territories occupied by Israel have caused widespread international condemnation and led to a sharp new exacerbation of the situation in the Near East. What has been the reaction to these events of people in Jordan and in the Arab world as a whole?

Answer. The news of the tragic events now taking place on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip cause pain and anger in our hearts. For 20 long years we have witnessed the terror and lawlessness perpetrated by Israel in these occupied Arab lands. Today the Palestinian residents' patience is exhausted and they have risen. The present actions by Palestinian Arabs serve as a last warning to Israel's leadership, which is stubbornly unwilling to withdraw its troops from the lands occupied since 1967. These events remind the international community once more of the insistent need to move from the deadlock on the cause of an all-embracing settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This, in our view, will be helped by an international conference on the Near East attended by all interested sides, including the PLO. It must be convened for the purpose of seeking ways to ensure the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 338, which talks of the fulfillment of resolution 242, which proclaims, in particular, the impermissibility of the forcible seizure of foreign territories. The time has finally come to solve all aspects of the Palestinian problem, which is at the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Israeli occupiers' bloody violence against Palestinian Arabs has given rise to a storm of indignation in Jordan and other Arab countries. We know that Soviet people share our feelings in these days of mourning for the entire Arab nation. Expressing full solidarity with the struggle waged by our brothers on the territories seized by Israel, we hope that the world public will not remain indifferent to these events and will resolutely strive for the establishment of a just peace in the Near East in conformity with international law.

Question. The recent Amman conference of Arab heads of state and government took important political decisions concerning the settlement of the Near East crisis and the Iraq-Iran conflict. What specific steps are being taken at present for the practical implementation of these decisions?

Answer. The Amman conference discussed many problems perturbing the Arabs, including the Palestinian problem and the Iran-Iraq conflict.

We outlined precisely and clearly our position on the question of the war between Iraq and Iran: There must be an immediate end to it. The conflict, already in its 8th year, has inflicted colossal damage on the two hostile states, and resulted in enormous loss of human life. It continues to pose a serious threat not only for regional but also for international security.

The Arab leaders unanimously decided to cooperate in implementing UN Security Council Resolution 598, which embodies the international community's will for the restoration of peace in the Persian Gulf region. We believe that the efforts that led to the adoption of this resolution must now be supplemented by specific measures which would help its swiftest implementation. For our part, we are prepared to give all necessary assistance to any steps aimed at ending this destructive war.

As regards the Arab-Israeli conflict, the participants in the Amman conference reaffirmed their full support for the idea of convening a representative international conference on the Near East as the only means of establishing a just peace in the region. We agreed to step up contacts at summit level, both between Arabs and in the international arena, for the purpose of helping to organize such a forum in the nearest future. I had the honor of chairing the Amman conference, and my visit to your country, which enjoys deserved prestige in the world, is partially devoted to the performance of this task.

Question. Following the 1982 conference in Fes, 5 years elapsed before the Arab leaders again gathered in Amman for a full meeting. Many attribute this to the lack of unity among them. What is being done to eliminate the differences and contradictions between individual states?

Answer. Indeed—and I say this with profound regret—a rather long period of time had to pass between the two conferences you mentioned. One would like to believe that, following the Amman meeting, such conferences will be held on a regular basis. I personally hold that such forums are extremely necessary. Their main task must be primarily to elaborate a united Arab stance on topical problems and to eliminate secondary differences for the sake of attaining the goals of the whole nation.

Let me note that we have achieved substantial progress in this direction: Relations between individual Arab countries have noticeably improved recently. This applies primarily to relations between Syria and Iraq. The Amman dialogue between the leaders of these two Arab states gives grounds to hope for the normalization of Syrian-Iraqi relations.

Following the Amman meeting, a whole series of Arab countries resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt. Tragic events in the recent past isolated Egypt from the rest of the Arab world. It was our duty to make all efforts to correct the prevailing situation in the interests of rallying Arab ranks. It seems to us that a start has been made to this process.

Question. How do you assess the results of your visit to the Soviet Union, the talks with Soviet leaders, the state of relations between our two countries, and the prospects for their development?

Answer. It made me happy to visit your great country again and to meet the Soviet leaders, our friends. We were accorded a warm and hospitable reception. We have felt at home in Moscow.

I was tremendously impressed by the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He is an energetic leader, brilliantly versed in the finer points of world politics. In the course of a lengthy conversation we had a constructive discussion on all the problems facing us today.

The Soviet-Jordanian talks, as a whole, were frank, specific, and useful; they helped to further strengthen mutual trust, and this, in my view, is one of the most important results of the visit.

We get a sense of constant gratification from experiencing the constant support given by your country to the just struggle of the Arab peoples. We are pleased that relations between our states are built on the reliable basis of complete mutual understanding and common interests; there is no limit to the prospects for their development.

Question. You said a few words in Russian in your speech at the dinner in the Great Kremlin Palace...

Answer. The Russian words "perestroyka" and "glasnost" are known all over the world today. They symbolize the great and important changes now under way in your country. I believe these words are now a firm part of the international vocabulary, and I did not find it at all difficult to learn them.

Taking advantage of this occasion, I would like to greet the friendly Soviet people on the coming New Year and wish you every success and happiness!

Syria's Prime Minister Discusses Foreign Policy

LD292244 Moscow TASS in English 2156 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Damascus December 29 (TASS)—Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi of Syria has made in the People's Council (parliament) a program statement of the government formed recently. He said that Syria would continue to consolidate and deepen the relations of friendship and cooperation with socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union.

It will continue to support the Non-Aligned Movement, the activities of all the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces. On behalf of the new government Al-Zu'bi welcomed the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The Syrian prime minister pointed out that the Syrian Government would strengthen economic and political relations with Arab countries on the national and anti-imperialist basis and would work for the establishment of durable and just peace in the region. Syria believes, he continued, that the Palestinian problem continues to be the key one in the Middle East settlement. It will continue to do its utmost for a complete liberation of occupied Arab lands and the restoration of the trampled rights of the Palestinian people. Al-Zu'bi pointed out the importance of the restoration of the national unity of Lebanon, the liberation of the occupied Lebanese territory and the establishment of peace and security there.

According to Al-Zu'bi, the Syrian Government will devote special attention to the development of industry and agriculture, to the maintenance of the export-import balance and the development of foreign trade relations.

East Europe

CSSR's Chnoupek, PZPR's Jaruzelski Hold Talks

PM291620 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Full Support"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Dec—Poland and Czechoslovakia fully support the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. They will continue to promote the USSR's dynamic international policy. This was noted at a meeting between W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, and CSSR Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek, who was received today by the Polish leader on the occasion of an official visit to Poland.

An exchange of opinions took place on the main avenues of the two states' foreign policy. W. Jaruzelski stressed that Poland supports the joint initiative of the CSSR and GDR governments on creating in central Europe a corridor free from nuclear weapons and a zone free from chemical weapons. B. Chnoupek expressed support for the Polish plan for arms reduction and confidence-building in central Europe.

The sides exchanged the experience of their countries and parties in the quest for more effective means of building socialism. The need to develop new forms of cooperation in all areas was indicated.

PZPR's Jaruzelski Remarks on 'Socialist Renewal'

PM291626 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "It Will Be a Crucial Year"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Dec—The outgoing year has brought many decisions of importance for the process of socialist renewal in Poland and the strengthening of dialogue and national consensus, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, has stated. He was speaking at a conference held here of chairmen of voivodship people's councils and voivodas, devoted to the problems of Poland's economic development in 1988 and the tasks of local organs of power.

One of the major events of the year, the Polish leader noted, was the national referendum. Like the campaign that preceded it, it was a school of democratic activity and confirmed the desire to transform reality. The country's citizens must be convinced that they are true, active coauthors of the program of transformations in the economy and sociopolitical life. Only then can we count on their mutual responsibility and participation in implementing reforms. Particular basic elements of the reform must not be allowed to be emasculated. The coming year will be crucial in the attainment of equilibrium in the national economy. The population must sense progress in the economy, in the market for goods and services. It is now necessary to analyze carefully and thoroughly the results of the referendum, mainly in order to accurately establish those phenomena uncovered in the course of holding the referendum.

Ryzhkov, SFRY's Zemljaric Discuss Ties

PM301439 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Soviet-Yugoslav Meeting"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin on 23 December J. Zemljaric, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, who has arrived in Moscow for a working meeting of the co-chairmen of the Soviet-Yugoslav Intergovernmental Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation.

During their conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, N.I. Ryzhkov and J. Zemljaric briefed each other on the fulfillment of tasks relating to the socioeconomic development of the USSR and the SFRY in light of decisions made by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th LCY Congress.

During a discussion of key questions of bilateral relations, it was noted with satisfaction that cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia is developing dynamically, on the firm basis of jointly elaborated principles and accords ensuing from meetings at summit level.

Discussing specific tasks pertaining to the current stage of Soviet-Yugoslav economic, scientific, and technical ties and their future prospects, both sides expressed a desire to continue to improve them on a mutually advantageous and equitable basis. Mutual interest was reaffirmed in the expansion of comprehensive economic ties by means of priority development of highly effective forms of cooperation, including production sharing and the creation of joint enterprises.

During the discussion of international problems, it was emphasized that the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles was a historic event that opens up a new stage in the process of talks on key problems confronting mankind. In present conditions, when a practical start has been made on building a world without nuclear weapons, the importance of internationalizing the process of disarmament and the need for all countries to participate in solving current key problems and to strengthen international security is increasing immeasurably.

The conversation was attended by I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.L. Malkevich, first deputy minister of foreign trade; A.I. Kachanov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Ties, and M. Veres, Yugoslav ambassador to the USSR.

Party Delegation in SFRY Visits LCY Groups

PM301211 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for CPSU-LCY ties, a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, visited Yugoslavia 17-23 December to familiarize itself with the work of LCY organizations in introducing the results of scientific research into practice.

The delegation had meetings and talks at the LCY Central Committee, the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee, the SFRY Federal Committee for Science and Technology, and the SFRY Federal Administration for Social Planning. The delegation also visited a number of scientific research institutes and industrial enterprises and was received by B. Muzevic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

CPSU Sends Congratulations on Romanian Jubilee

PM301151 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 87 Second Edition p 1

[Leadership bodies' message to Romanian leaders on republic's 40th anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Soviet people send you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of Romania, and the entire fraternal Romanian people cordial congratulations on a portentous jubilee in the life of your country—the 40th anniversary of Romania's proclamation as a people's republic.

The people's selfless labor multiplied by socialism's tremendous creative potential has over the past 4 decades turned Romania from a backward agricultural country into an industrial-agrarian state with a modern production, scientific, and technical potential.

The Soviet people have always championed friendship and all-around ties with the fraternal Romanian people. The accords reached during the Soviet-Romanian summit talks in May 1987 to broaden and deepen cooperation between the USSR and Romania in all spheres of bilateral relations and in the international arena are giving a new boost to our countries' fruitful cooperation, with due regard to the demands of the contemporary stage of their development. Realization of those accords and enrichment of ties and cooperation with new substance and progressive forms will promote the confident advance of both countries along the path of socialist building.

We express the wish that you and the Communists and all working people of Romania will successfully fulfill the 13th RCP Congress decisions and raise your country to a new level of economic and social progress. We express confidence that the traditional Soviet-Romanian friendship and cooperation will continue to develop for the good of our peoples, in the interests of strengthening peace and socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Moscow Meeting Marks Jubilee

PM301411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Important Date"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people held on 28 December was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic.

Speakers noted that the friendship and businesslike relations between the USSR and Romania are in keeping with the fundamental interests of the two countries' peoples. The accords achieved during the meetings and talks between the leaders of the CPSU and the RCP define the further development of the whole range of Soviet-Romanian relations in the political, economic, cultural, and scientific spheres and reflect the resolve of the fraternal parties to actively collaborate in the struggle to strengthen peace and the peoples' security.

I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, described life in present-day Romania and dwelt in detail on results of the recent RCP national conference. Implementing tasks set at this conference, Romanian Communists remain faithful to the course aimed at developing friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and strengthening ties with other socialist countries.

The ambassador emphasized the world-historic importance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The meeting was attended by P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations.

Status of Progress Gas Pipeline Reported

LD282216 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] The construction collectives from the CEMA countries that are building oil and gas industry installations in five union republics have fulfilled their annual work programs ahead of plan. These reports reached the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises today via the control network, from 33 oblasts where international collectives from Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia are laboring on the integration construction sites. If the fast rates of work are maintained, then the progress gas pipeline, which is being built in conjunction with Soviet builders, will go into operation as planned as early as the second quarter of next year.

West Europe

More on Visit of FRG's Strauss to Soviet Union

Holds Talks With Gorbachev

LD291909 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev met in the Kremlin today with Franz-Josef Strauss, minister-president of Bavaria and chairman of the Christian-Social Union [CSU] of the Federal Republic of Germany.

They held a substantive, lively exchange of views on major issues of world and European politics and relations between the USSR and the FRG.

In setting out the philosophy of the Soviet approach to present-day international affairs, Gorbachev pointed out that the Soviet Union stood firmly in its foreign policy on the soil of reality.

"In the world, where dozens of states with their interests are at work, ignoring the realities may bring about, as it happened in the past, grave consequences," he said.

"The world has changed in the past 40 years, new realities have emerged, which should be taken into account. Lessons must be drawn from the past.

The main thing today is to respect the choice of other peoples. We are committed to our structure, to our system. But we also respect the choice of others. We are to live together, to compete and to cooperate. History will show which choice is better. The sooner we come to this conclusion, the quicker we will be able to diminish military confrontation and bring international relations into the channel of peaceful cooperation.

The Soviet Union not only proclaims its philosophy of achieving a safe world by the year 2000, but is also undertaking specific realistic steps, displaying due flexibility and readiness to come to accord with partners in the West.

Strauss agreed that it was necessary to reckon with the existing realities. The CSU chairman firmly declared that war should be excluded from the practice of interstate relations as a means of resolving political issues. There should be no war—either nuclear, or "semi-nuclear", or conventional, he pointed out.

"We shall never raise the sword. Military clash should never be allowed to take place either on the territory of the two German states or the Soviet Union. The Government of the FRG realizes that full well."

In discussing disarmament problems, Gorbachev pointed out that the conclusion of the INF Treaty was but a first step, a start of the process that was to be followed by further steps in the field of strategic arms and conventional weapons and the prohibition of chemical arms.

On the whole, Strauss spoke to the effect that further steps in the field of disarmament should be undertaken.

Both sides paid due attention to problems of European security. The discussion revealed quite a few points of contact.

The Soviet Union, Gorbachev observed, attached prime importance to Europe's role in world politics. "We are Europeans ourselves. We will never allow a step that would damage European security. We will work towards reducing the level of confrontation in the European Continent.

Our European policy proceeds from the premise that all problems of the continent—security, cooperation in various areas—should be handled through concerted effort, on the basis of reciprocal interests."

"In the field of conventional arms," Gorbachev said, "the Soviet Union strongly favoured the elimination of existing disbalances and asymmetries. We are prepared for realistic, constructive discussion of these issues.

On the whole, it is necessary not simply to agree on the elimination of disbalances, but to reduce step by step the military potentials down to the level required only for defence and insufficient for waging offensive actions."

Tactical nuclear weapons were discussed in this connection, and their elimination along with the reduction of conventional arms.

Understanding was revealed of the need for total prohibition of chemical weapons given strict verification.

Within the context of all-European cooperation, much attention was given to issues of Soviet-West German relations. The Soviet Union, Gorbachev said, favoured the development of cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany. "We invite the government, politicians in the Federal Republic to build these relations on the basis of respect for post-war realities.

If they are ready for that, great opportunities may open up for the promotion of political dialogue, economic, scientific and technological, cultural and other relations between the two countries."

Strauss favoured all-round development of relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, which he described as a major element in the European political landscape. He spoke of the interest of the FRG, specifically the Bavarian Government, in promoting economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev backed these remarks, noting that such cooperation could be built successfully on the basis of reciprocal benefit. In general, development of economic, scientific, technological and cultural ties constituted a good basis for strengthening confidence.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed the hope that the new year 1988 would be marked by more intensive constructive political dialogue between the USSR and the FRG, and broader contacts and meetings between the two countries.

Both sides showed understanding of the importance of making Soviet-West German relations a matter of practical policy.

At Strauss' request, Gorbachev described processes currently taking place in Soviet society. "Politicians in the West," he said, "should have no illusions with regard to consequences of the restructuring drive. We are not going to alter our system.

We want to use to the maximum the opportunities it has. We hope to be correctly understood. We will march along our path. Our society needs restructuring. It does not threaten our neighbours."

Strauss expressed the hope that these processes would help strengthen confidence and cooperation between East and West.

The conversation, which lasted more than two hours, passed in a good atmosphere, on the basis of businesslike discussion of all issues. It was useful for relations between the USSR and the FRG.

Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Theo Waigel, Gerold Tandler and Edmund Stoiber, who arrived in Moscow along with Strauss, took part in the conversation.

More on Gorbachev Talks

LD291548 Hamburg DPA in German 1429 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—After his meeting with Soviet Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Franz-Josef Strauss, Bavarian prime minister and CSU chairman, is hoping that the intermediate missile accord will be the start of a "fundamental change" in the security thinking between West and East, entailing "far-reaching disarmament steps." Speaking before journalists today, Strauss stressed to Gorbachev that shorter-range missiles are now the problem for the two German states. The Kremlin chief "took note" of this.

The ideas of Gorbachev, whose problems in the USSR—especially in the economic area—have an effect on military issues, are "for us very interesting, worth considering, and worth pursuing," Strauss said after the some 2 and 3/4 hours of talks in the party leader's study in the Kremlin. [passage omitted]

Strauss stressed that if the intermediate-range missile accord were indeed to be the "start to a bigger, more comprehensive solution, then the political significance is for us, naturally, bigger than any technical considerations." However, if there were to be no followup to this start, then nothing has changed for the Federal Republic. The disarmament issue would become much easier if the West were to lose the feeling of a threat, he told Gorbachev. Despite his reservations about the Washington agreement, which he reiterated to Gorbachev, he also pointed out "the benefit which we recognize" and said: "We are at the threshold of a new era."

The talk with the Soviet leader took place "in a most pleasant manner but with plain language." Strauss called the atmosphere "friendly" and "relaxed," some of the time even very funny and "with the inevitable jokes and anecdotes." "Indeed, I did not expect this." He will leave the Kremlin "with the most pleasant of sentiments."

Following a visit to the space flight center, Strauss was invited to dinner by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Kamentsev in the evening in the small banqueting hall of the Kremlin. Strauss is to return to Munich on Thursday. [passage omitted]

He raised the case of the Kremlin pilot Mathias Rust from Wedel near Hamburg, who was sentenced to 4 years hard labor and who is kept in the Lefortovo Prison.

with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze in such a way "which, in contrast to sensational headlines, would not extend the imprisonment but would shorten it." Asked what form this shortening may take, Strauss said: "By minus x."

"The marketing of this stupid prank—I do not consider it to be more than that"—does not make it any easier for the USSR. The less ballyhoo there is, the easier it will be. After leaving the Kremlin, Strauss stopped his car at the Basilius Cathedral—in the immediate vicinity of where the Kremlin pilot had landed.

On the subject of German policy affairs, Strauss told the Kremlin chief that "we adhere to the unity of the nation in two states." "To my surprise there was no dissent to this," Strauss said. Gorbachev referred to the early fifties and the Stalin note. The opportunity offered then for reunification had not been taken up by the Federal Republic.

In connection with a discussion of economic questions, Strauss referred to the Soviet Union's interest in increased contacts between firms, both of important large-scale enterprises such as Siemens and Man as well as those of medium size. Key areas are machine tool building, transport technology, such as the Transrapid magnetic suspension railway, electrical engineering, and medical equipment.

Strauss was invited by the State Foreign Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers, whose head is Kamentsev. Strauss conducted a talk with him this morning.

Briefs Newsmen on Talks

LD301156 Hamburg DPA in German 1101 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Franz-Josef Strauss, CSU chairman and Bavarian prime minister, believes after his talk with Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev that a "new chapter" has been opened in German-Soviet relations and that "we are standing on the threshold of a new age." "Not only has that always been our hope but since yesterday I have begun to be firmly convinced of this," Strauss said in Moscow on Wednesday in response to journalists' questions.

Strauss reemphasized that he considers it to be particularly significant that Gorbachev did not contradict him when he said that the FRG continues to adhere to "one nation in two German states." Previously this had been "sharply rebuffed" by Moscow. Nevertheless, he does not see any signs so far that there has been any new thinking in the Soviet Union on the German question with the goal of reunifying the two states. "Indeed, we should be very restrained with statements of this kind because Soviet thinking is certainly not going that far at the moment, and no one knows when it will."

Strauss warned further: "I would consider it a mistake, indeed, dangerous in a sense, to raise the idea of an end to the division of Germany as a consequence of restructuring and glasnost." He told his interlocutors in Moscow that historical events can only be changed "through historical development by means of evolution"—"never again by the sword."

There is "certainly something to be said" for Gorbachev's remark about the "Common European home", the CSU leader said. But this should not lead to Europe "now forming an alliance with the Soviet Union and being separated from our U.S. friends." But the Europeans have special security interests, as the disarmament dialogue of the past months has made particular clear. He warned in Moscow of "excessive expectations" in disarmament, which "received a great deal of agreement" among his Soviet interlocutors.

Interviewed on Visit

DW292032 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 1900 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Interview with Bavarian Minister President Franz-Josef Strauss by reporter Gabriele Krone-Schmalz in Moscow on 29 Dec—recorded]

[Text] [Krone-Schmalz] Have the visit and the talks held so far changed your opinion or assessment of the Soviet Union?

[Strauss] The Soviet Union is no longer what is was 10 years ago. I hope that 10 years from now it will no longer be what it is today. I never belonged to those people who expect a wondrous development from the words "openness" and "restructuring." The whole is a slow process, and the goal—according to the present Soviet leadership's intentions—naturally is not the introduction of our democratic system, but the improvement of the own system, including eradication of weakness and faults and improvements for the people, the state, and the economy.

Meets With Dobrynin

LD301135 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—Today Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), received Franz-Josef Strauss, minister-president of Bavaria (FRG), chairman of the Christian Social Union, who is currently in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Italian Communist Chief on Gorbachev Initiative

PM291624 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent N. Miroshnik report: "'Bold Initiative'"]

[Text] Rome, 22 Dec—The Soviet Union under M.S. Gorbachev is "developing a bold initiative in the international arena in close connection with an equally bold reform of its internal social, political, and cultural life," A. Natta, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], stated, speaking in the city of Biella within the framework of the PCI's annual national campaign for the renewal of party cards. "If M. Gorbachev's word is trusted," the speaker went on, "this is first and foremost because he has behind him a country that is engaged stubbornly, albeit with difficulties, in ensuring more justice and democracy."

Italy's Andreotti Interviewed on INF Treaty

LD300137 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Y. Vybornov report from Rome]

[Text] In an interview for the "Vremya" program, Giulio Andreotti said:

[Andreotti shown speaking in Italian with Vybornov's superimposed Russian translation] We attach great significance to the treaty because Europe is being freed from a significant number of missiles. The treaty has also shown that it is possible to go down the road of talks, and in the future this may lead to the complete destruction of weapons. This is the final aim and aspiration of all political forces that are undertaking concrete efforts in various countries in that direction. We have always believed in such a development in international relations. Despite the presence of a whole range of problems arousing concern, the end of this year can undoubtedly be called positive. We hope that the forthcoming year will be marked by new important steps on the road to disarmament, Giulio Andreotti said in conclusion.

Notes Exchanged on Treaty Verification in Italy

LD292012 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1902 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Excerpt] Rome, 29 Dec (TASS)—TASS Correspondent Nikolay Teterin reports:

Today in Rome, Giulio Andreotti, Italian minister of foreign affairs, and Nikolay Lunkov, USSR ambassador in Italy, exchanged notes regarding the carrying out of inspections on Italian territory in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The present accord, which was established through the exchange of notes, is to be ratified by the Italian Parliament. [passage omitted]

Italian Town Names Gorbachev Honorary Citizen

LD292147 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Rome December 29 TASS—General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev has been awarded today the title of honorary citizen of Terrasini by decision of the municipality of that Italian town Sicily. The decision notes Mikhail Gorbachev's profound contribution to the struggle for peace and disarmament, specifically the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Mikhail Gorbachev visited Terrasini during his visit to Italy a few years ago.

Pogodin on Ryzhkov Visit to Sweden, Norway

LD292233 Moscow International Service in Finnish 1530 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] We continue our broadcast with a commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin on the forthcoming official visit of Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov to Sweden and Norway in the middle of January.

We have full reason to presume that the talks in Stockholm and Oslo will deal with many problems. Among them we may mention the general world situation, the situation in Northern Europe, Soviet-Swedish and Soviet-Norwegian relations. Understandably bilateral relations with both countries have their own special features, although they have much in common, too. I would like to refer to two matters. First, the Soviet Union aims to create neighborly harmony and trust with all its neighboring countries and to develop multiple cooperation. On the other hand, the Soviet Union wants to see the northern parts of the planet, its polar regions and the areas bordering on them, as peaceful areas of fruitful contacts, areas without any wars.

This line of principle has been manifested also in practical measures. Even before the Soviet Union signed with the United States the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, it unilaterally removed intermediate missile launching pads from the Kola area and from other parts in the northern and Baltic areas. Now that the treaty on intermeditate- and shorter-range missiles is a reality, new possibilities are emerging for military detente in this area.

As we know, the Soviet Union continues to support the formation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in northern Europe. If a corresponding decision is made, the Soviet

Union will give guarantees and undertake certain measures with regard to its own territory. It is prepared to remove from the Baltic its submarines equipped with ballistic missiles. The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss other measures aimed at reducing military confrontation in the area.

The Soviet Union is in favor of expanding political contacts with Sweden and Norway as well as other countries of Northern Europe. The USSR is also in favor of bringing views closer on topical international problems. There are still great possibilities for expanding mutually advantageous cooperation in the commercial, economic, cultural, and scientific fields and in other spheres of life. There are extensive prospects for interaction between different countries in the use of the North and the protection of the Arctic environment. As we know, the principles of such cooperation were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Murmansk speech last October. The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss other ideas and proposals too.

We hope that the peoples of Northern Europe will join us in dialogue and in contacts. We hare common concerns. Northern Europe must be made into an area of peace and action, writes Aleksandr Pogodin.

Finnish Prime Minister Holkeri Visits Leningrad

To Mark Finnish Independence

LD291240 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Helsinki December 29 TASS—A Finnish delegation led by Prime Minister Harri Holkeri today left on a visit from Helsinki to Leningrad where it will attend observances marking the 70th anniversary of the decree proclaiming Finland independent.

The delegation includes the chairmen of the parliamentary factions of different Finnish political parties and other officials.

Chairmen of Diet Groups Attend

LD291238 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 0600 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Prime Minister Harri Holkeri is visiting Leningrad today. The visit is Holkeri's first to the Soviet Union as prime minister. The visit is in connection with the 70th anniversary celebrations for the statute recognizing Finnish independence. The prime minister's party includes the chairmen of all the Diet groups. The visit ends Thursday.

Swedish Airline Reports Moscow Incident

LD251114 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1000 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] A Scandinavian Airlines System [SAS] aircraft en route from Copenhagen to Bangkok with 221 passengers on board was recalled by SAS to Copenhagen yesterday instead of altering course to land in Moscow at a Soviet request. The plane was flying over the Aral Sea in Central Asia in the flight corridor first assigned by the Soviet authorities when the pilot was informed that parts of Soviet airspace were closed. SAS chose then to recall the plane to Copenhagen where the passengers were accomodated at a hotel for the night. This morning the plane took off for Bangkok again. The press spokesman at Kastrup told TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA that it has not been possible to obtain any explanations of why the flight path was altered by the Soviet authorities.

CPSU Protests Arrest of Turkish Politicians

LD082118 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 8 Dec 87

[text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The newspaper PRAVDA carries the following dispatch in its issue for December 9.

Prominent figures of the democratic movement—Haydar Kutlu, general secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey Central Committee, and Nihat Sargin, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Turkey, are under arrest in Turkey. Particularly bewildering is the fact that under arrest are political leaders, who consciously and voluntarily returned home from emigration in order to contribute toward democratising public life there, which so much has been spoken of in Turkey recently.

The Soviet Union is committed to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states placed on record in the Final Act of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. Yet the Soviet Communists cannot remain indifferent in face of violation of the most important provisions of the Final Act demanding respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and conviction. Protests are broadening worldwide against the arrest of Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin. Representatives of the European Parliament, the national parliaments of other countries, foreign public circles and political parties demand their release, and in Turkey itself prominent political and public figures declare for granting the Communist Party the right to legal activities.

The Soviet Communists loyal to their internationalist duty raise their voice in defence of Comrades Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin in support of the demand for their release. We are expressing solidarity with the fight waged by the Communists and other left-wing democratic forces of Turkey for the right to uphold openly their views in conditions of the generally accepted democratic principles.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Comments on Socialists' Assistance

LD300940 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Managua December 30 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, at a press conference in Managua, spoke highly of his country's relations with socialist countries.

He said the Soviet Union, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and other countries of the socialist community were rendering much assistance to Nicaragua in restoring its national economy under the conditions of an economic blockade imposed by the United States.

"Nicaragua depends on foreign supplies of oil and oil products," he said.

"Socialist countries were the first to respond to the Nicaraguan Government's appeal and help the country overcome an acute fuel crisis and withstand the U.S. economic blockade and aggression."

Moscow Meeting Marks Cuban Revolution

PM291747 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Devoted to Anniversary"]

[Text] Representatives of Moscow's working people devoted a meeting held in the House of the Unions 28 December to the 29th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

The meeting participants pointed out that the relations of fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation that exist between the peoples of the USSR and Cuba, and between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba, steadily strengthen and develop in the interests of the two countries and strengthen international security as well.

R. Mirabal, minister-counselor at the Cuban Embassy in the USSR, who addressed the meeting, declared support for the USSR's efforts to ensure lasting peace on the planet.

Participating in the meeting were V.P. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, military chiefs, and also a delegation of the Cuban Institute of Peoples' Friendship and the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association and J. Camacho, Cuban ambassador to the USSR.

Political & Social

Turkmenia Militia Implicated in Murder Case

PM291545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent M. Volkov article: "The Undaunted Khalima. An Incident in Chardzhou Which Agitated the City"; first paragraph is printed in boldface italics; subsequent boldface passage as published]

[Text] Ashkhabad-Chardzhou—**The PRAVDA correspondent's office in Ashkhabad is receiving agitated letters about the murder of Kh.D. [Khalima Dzhorayevna] Rozybayeva, instructor at the Chardzhou Party Obkom Administrative Organs Department, former oblast deputy prosecutor and Chardzhou City prosecutor. This extraordinary event was discussed at a session of the party obkom bureau, and a report on the session was published by the oblast newspaper CHARDZHOUSKAYA PRAVDA. But, in the opinion of many readers, the bureau's decision failed to fully explain the substance of the case. People want to know whether resolute measures will be adopted to impose the strictest order in the work of law enforcement organs, and who is guilty of organizing the murder of a senior party official.**

Hired assassins tracked Roza Charyyev, investigator from the oblast prosecutor's office, for 2 days. They changed cars several times, kept reloading the sawed-off shotgun to make sure it did not jam. But their evil deed was not to be accomplished: Aware that he was being hunted, Charyyev took precautions—he moved in temporarily with a comrade and sent his family away to relatives. The investigator won't get away, they decided. The next person on their list was Khalima Dzhorayevna Rozybayeva. And they made their way to her home late at night.

...All that happened not so long ago. Kh.D. Rozybayeva was just about to go to the scene of an incident, when the telephone rang.

"Chardzhou City prosecutor," she said into the receiver.

"A university professor's son is doing time for hooliganism somewhere in your oblast. He's behaving normally. Let him out on parole for 3-4 days here, in Ashkhabad. To see his parents."

And that was all. No hello, no goodbye. The prosecutor did not manage to say anything in response: The high-ranking caller broke off the conversation. She dialed the familiar number, intending to remind him of the law which is mandatory for everyone. But the operator simply did not want to know. Nobody was to be put through without the chief's prior permission.

"She then called me," V. Musatov, deputy chief of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, told me. "No way," she said, "am I going to release the convict, just tell that to your chief."

And that was what V. Musatov did—he reported the telephone call to his chief, I. Bikiyev. The latter's embarrassment was, of course, due more than anything else to the fact that this matter had gone beyond the person-to-person framework. And he eased off the pressure.

Her colleagues and comrades were repeatedly amazed by the desperate boldness displayed by Khalima Dzhorayevna in the struggle against total license and illegality. Personal courage was supplemented by cool reasoning and the ability to see several moves ahead, which were typical of the highly experienced legal expert and republic chess champion.

From the personal file: "By order by the USSR Prosecutor General, and by way of incentive, Comrade Kh.D. Rozybayeva is awarded the special title counselor of justice." Let us note that this is equivalent to the rank of militia lieutenant colonel. The title was awarded to her while she was oblast deputy prosecutor. At that time she was responsible for the observance of legality in the courts. During the difficult years of stagnation, when bribery was the norm in Central Asia, she succeeded in organizing uncompromising supervision of the prosecution of criminal cases.

But there was always opposition. She drew strength from her comrades in arms, the organizers of restructuring. V. Rebrik, the new party obkom second secretary, an energetic and principled individual, was seeking kindred spirits to embark on improving the moral and psychological climate in the oblast. Thus, Kh. Rozybayeva became an instructor in the party obkom's Administrative Organs Department and was in fact acting chief of department since S. Astankulov, who had been appointed to that office, unexpectedly fell ill and a year later was relieved of his duties....

A torrent of slander—anonymous and malicious—was unleashed during that period of heated passions. The werewolves were stirred up and were becoming restless, driven by a striving to demolish by any means what they perceived as a dangerous alliance between V. Rebrik (an unconcealed desire—augmented by the power of his office—to sweep away the dirt primarily from among the ranks of law enforcement officers) and Kh. Rozybayeva (precise knowledge of the situation, familiarity with people—who is who, incorruptibility).

To obtain an impression of the situation in the oblast it is sufficient to cast a glance at a report prepared by Khalima Dzhorayevna for the 5 August 1987 obkom bureau session. Militia Officers N. Sedov, Ye. Rukhullayev, F. Gabitov, Kh. Beknazarov, and others had been taking bribes, engaging in extortion and fraud, and organizing criminal assaults on people. In the 10 months of 1987 alone, 63 militia staffers had been dismissed from the organs for complicity, covering up crimes, immoral behavior, and breaches of discipline.

The report provides evidence of mutual protectionism: "According to incomplete data, the oblast internal affairs and prosecutor's office organs employ 63 persons whose close relatives have faced criminal proceedings, and about 140 officials are related." Moreover, key positions were firmly held by natives of Deynauskiy, Farabskiy, and Chardzhouskiy Rayons, which are, by the way, the native rayons of many oblast leaders.

The obkom bureau discussed the activity of the prosecutor's office as regards the selection, placement, and education of cadres and, as was only to be expected, deemed this work unsatisfactory.

...Khalima Dzhorayevna had only 20 days left to live. Anonymous telephone calls threw her off balance. Politely warning voices were replaced by others, downright rude and hostile. Total strangers wanted to know: Is she feeling well, wouldn't she like a vacation...

And the premonition was already there. She spoke of it to her chief, Kh. Rakhmanov, who had filled the vacancy in the Administrative Organs Department. But he brushed it aside—cool it down, he said, female suspiciousness.

Yes, the anonymous letters had achieved their goal. Khalima Dzhorayevna was not promoted to the position of chief, even though she emerged crystal-pure from all the numerous investigations. The stereotype principle worked—since people write, it means that not everyone likes her, so why provide a breeding ground for more letters. They were trying to protect themselves. They opted for Kh. Rakhmanov, who had fouled up the work of the oblispolkom's Internal Affairs Administration Political Department.

The question is: Could oblast prosecutor B. Kader and N. Anokhin, chief of the oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, have foreseen the villainous attack? Both of them knew quite well the people with whom Kh. Rozybayeva had come into conflict. But both of them, brushing aside the party obkom bureau's decision, took it upon themselves to save the culprits. The oblast Prosecutor's Office certified the appointment of A. Ovlyakuliyev, G. Rudenko, and M. Dzhavliyev as members of the investigations apparatus, although all of them had close relatives who had been prosecuted. Furthermore, an attempt was made to "move" Militia Colonel Kh. Soltanov to the position of deputy chief of a rayon militia department. He used to hold high-ranking positions in the Internal Affairs Departments of Chardzhou Oblispolkom and of Mary Oblispolkom, but then somehow "went down," finding himself—without being reprimanded or carpeted—in the post of precinct inspector. "But Rakhmanov, chief of the Administrative Organs Department, pales just at the mention of this man's name," V. Rebrik, second secretary of the party obkom, stated at a session of the party obkom bureau. The bureau had assembled on that occasion to discuss an extraordinary question—the question of Kh. Rozybayeva's villainous murder. It was ascertained that, in the atmosphere of outright protectionism, for many years on end no measures had been taken to put an end to Kh. Soltanov's illegal actions even though his unscrupulousness and his haughty attitude toward those around him were well-known.

Someone by the name of A. Khudaykulov, twice tried for theft and on the wanted list, became Kh. Soltanov's shadow, his "errand boy." The colonel promised his admirer to "close" the criminal case instituted against him by the Deynauskiy Rayon Militia Department in exchange—naturally—for services rendered. And he started taking steps to fulfill his promise. Casting all caution to the wind, he called at the office of D. Baltayev, chief of the Deynauskiy Rayon Militia Department, and asked him to do a favor for his "nephew" and close the investigation. D. Baltayev saw nothing extraordinary in his request, but advised him to tackle Militia Major Kh. Durdiyev, deputy chief for operational matters. The major respectfully heard out the colonel but really could not help: Khudaykulov had become rather notorious in the rayon.

The leaders of the rayon militia department concealed the fact of Soltanov's approach to them, thus in fact betraying their service interests. Unfortunately, however, they were not the last links in the chain.... The colonel managed to find a way to approach M. Dzhavliyev, investigator in the oblast Prosecutor's Office (recently promoted by the oblast prosecutor). The investigator urgently requested Khudaykulov's criminal record from the Deynauskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department and received it shortly afterward.

But Khalima Dzhorayevna created serious complications in Soltanov's life. During her last days she worked with redoubled energy. "She realized that very often the question boils down to: Either us or them," V. Rebrik said at the bureau session.

"I have been working in the republic for just over a year," G. Podalinskiy, chief of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, told me. "I have dealt with numerous complaints, and I involuntarily drew the conclusion that even quite recently here anyone at whom a finger was pointed could lose his freedom...."

Once again Khalima Dzhorayevna was called in to help. A bride had been abducted. A routine case in Turkmenia. But the young girl proved obstinate, refusing outright to get married. The militia intervened. Right away the would-be in-laws appeared on the scene, "scraped together" 13,000 [rubles], and took the money to A.

Dzhepbarova, prosecutor at Kerki Combined Prosecutor's Office. Rumor in the rayon had it that she accepts cash. A letter about this had even been sent to the obkom.

Kh. Rozybayeva herself traveled to Kerki, chatted with people, and passed the evidence to the oblast Prosecutor's Office. A few days ago, the case of former Prosecutor A. Dzhepbarova, accused of bribe-taking, was passed on to the court. But at the time it was still difficult to foresee how matters would develop. One thing was clear—Khalima Dzhorayevna had made some deadly enemies.

The arrest of his wife—A. Dzhepbarova—drove Soltanov mad. Fully briefed on the course of the investigation, he found out that the main witness was Kh. Rakhmanova, secretary of the Combined Prosecutor's Office. In broad daylight, without worrying too much about consequences, and accompanied by Militia Captain T. Dzhepbarov, his wife's brother, he drove Kh. Rakhmanova out of the city in his personal "Zhiguli," armed with a rifle. The next day the Prosecutor's Office secretary gave new evidence to Investigator R. Charyyev, directly contradicting her former testimony and whitewashing the prosecutor. In the evening she told relatives that Col Soltanov had forced her to do this at gunpoint, and at dawn she was found with a noose around her neck....

The doorbell at Khalima Dzhorayevna's apartment rang a few days later. She approached the door and heard on the landing young people's voices asking for help. People who knew her say that Khalima Dzhorayevna could not have failed to open the door in such circumstances....

"I look at this as an act of terrorism, a political assassination," V. Rebrik said in the course of our conversation. "And the assessment of events is only just beginning. It is a great pity that people like Soltanov and Dzhepbarov have not changed. Their protectors are also powerful. The most important thing is to strike at mutual protectionism...."

Indeed, though bureau members at the session on that tragic occasion spoke fervently and resolutely, the chief culprits got off almost scot-free. Forgetting about the crux of the matter, the community of interests, and the common cause, Kh. Rakhmanov, chief of the Administrative Organs Department, and N. Anokhin, chief of the oblispolkom's Internal Affairs Department, started wrangling and made no secret of their personal hatred. They were both reprimanded. Kh. Rakhmanov for slackening political education work and a lack of principled demandingness. But what was the assessment of the facts cited at the bureau session? Like, for example, the statement by obkom bureau member F. Nikhezin that, 3 days before being murdered, Kh. Rozybayeva reported the blatant threats to her chief and named specific names, but he took no steps at all. Nor did he report this immediately to the investigators. And so, they were initially groping in the dark, and the investigation picked up speed only following the arrival of a special group of MVD operations officials and the appointment of V. Kudin, investigator of particularly important cases at the Belorussian SSR Prosecutor's Office, to head the investigation.

For a long time there was talk of leaving N. Anokhin in office. Somewhat earlier he had submitted a report with the request that he be relieved of his duties "for health reasons." Oblast prosecutor B. Kader was unruffled, trying to turn the conversation to "successes" and "achievements." R. Khudayberdiyev, first secretary of the party obkom, had a fatherly conversation with Militia Maj Kh. Durdiyev, persuading him of the correctness of his expulsion from the CPSU. At about that time, by the way, the "first" himself submitted an application to be relieved of his duties "for health reasons."

It is hard to disagree with V. Rebrik's claim that the bureau failed to dot all the i's. The PRAVDA correspondent's office is receiving letters from Chardzhou Oblast in which people reasonably ask why those people promoted by R. Khudayberdiyev who have compromised themselves were not taken immediately to task. For example, CPSU members D. Khudaykulov and Kh. Meredov draw attention to an obvious fact: N. Akyyev, B. Almazov, and D. Khudaynazarov, former first secretaries of Khalachskiy, Karabekaulskiy, and Dostlukskiy Party Raykoms respectively; Kerkinskiy Rayispolkom Chairman O. Durdiyev; and many trade network workers have been expelled from the party. And yet the first secretary of the party obkom seems to be totally uninvolved....

The investigation is not yet complete. We have no intention of intervening in it. Nonetheless, questions have to be asked. Why is it, for example, that one of those suspected of murder persistently offered to give himself up, but only to an investigator from Moscow, and when a local comrade arrived to keep the set meeting, he fled to a neighboring republic? Why is it that Militia Capt T. Dzhepbarov, who makes no secret of the fact that he really did drive Kh. Rakhmanova out of the city after arming himself with rifle and cartridges, is still employed by the organs? Who was it that protected Kh. Soltanov and why did he wear the shoulder boards of militia colonel right until the time of his arrest?

MVD Aide on Impact of Glasnost on Militia Organs

PM291421 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with V. Trushin, first deputy minister of internal affairs, by A. Illesh: "Militia and Glasnost"; date and place not given]

[Text] The militia and glasnost—this subject is of concern to many readers. Using the editors' mail, we prepared questions which are answered by V. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs.

[Illesh] The press has recently devoted quite a lot of attention to the subject of law enforcement. Our newspaper, in particular, has repeatedly carried materials on the militia. Many of these articles have been critical. And each one in turn gives rise to a stream of letters in response. Readers name new instances of violations of legality, complain, and cite examples from their own life. Thus, the impression could be created that those specifically to blame for certain specific situations are punished, while the overall state of affairs does not change either in the militia or in the struggle against crime....

[Trushin] That is undoubtedly not so. It is impossible not to see also (although people write about this considerably more rarely) positive changes both in the operating situation and changes in the internal affairs organs themselves. Here is the latest statistical summary. This year the crime rate has fallen 8.5%, and the number of serious crimes has fallen 14%. There is a continuing drop in the number of homicides, cases of grievous bodily harm, rape...

All this is primarily the result of the party's tremendous political and organizational work in purifying the moral atmosphere in society and strengthening discipline and organization. The internal affairs organs are also making their contribution to stepping up the struggle against various negative social aspects. However, this contribution could and must be greater.

Examples? The alcohol-related crime situation, which has become more complex in recent months, is connected to a considerable extent with shortcomings in the practice of applying antialcohol legislation. The drop in the drink-related crime rate has been less than 4%, while only a year ago it was estimated at 26%. Measures to combat drug addiction are still not having the necessary effect. Recidivist crime is growing. The number of offenses committed by juveniles remains at last year's level. The mass of undisclosed crimes has increased.... Yes, although restructuring is gathering momentum in the internal affairs organs, it is lagging seriously behind the dynamism of the processes taking place in society.

[Illesh] What do you see as the reasons for this state of affairs?

[Trushin] They can be put into two groups: relating to organization and cadres. In the organizational sphere the bottleneck (which we plan very soon to "clear") is the manifestly obsolete structure and the related insufficiently flexible system of management. I will name just the chief aspects of the problem. The times demand that the efficiency of the chief component of the whole MVD system—the city rayon organs—be considerably enhanced. The time is also ripe for abrupt changes in the managerial components at republic, kray, and oblast level, which have in many respects become bureaucratic and have gotten bogged down in verification procedures, information, report notes, and other correspondence. And, finally, substantial changes are also needed in the work of the ministry apparatus itself.

[Illesh] Thousands of people were dismissed from the MVD in the course of strengthening or, rather, purging the internal affairs organs of dishonest or unprofessional workers who had felt so confident during the years of stagnation. They were replaced by new cadres. But did not such a huge change, which in many respects also affected the ministry leadership, give rise to serious problems?

[Trushin] I would like to clarify something: No mass campaign to purge the internal affairs organs was announced. Rather, at a certain stage, between 1983 and 1985, a process similar to such a campaign did take place. But, while being fundamentally rational and objectively necessary, that process did not, because of subjective mistakes, keep within a reasonable framework, developed into wholesale mistrust of people, and led to hasty decisions on punishments and dismissals. Of course, that approach had nothing in common with the cadre policy formulated by the January plenum.

The only correct line, in our view, is now being implemented consistently and firmly—high exactingness and uncompromisingness toward those who violate the law and by their dishonorable actions compromise both themselves and the collective behind them. All this must be combined with educational work, with concern for enhancing the political, professional, legal, and general culture of employees, and with the creation of proper working and living conditions for them. Cadre renewal is undoubtedly associated with certain difficulties. But a conciliatory attitude toward people who are in the militia by sheer chance is attended by still greater difficulties, if not failures.

As for leading staff, the demands on work style, competence, and irreproachable personal behavior have become immeasurably greater here. No previous services can relieve of their responsibility those who foul up. This year the MVD Collegium has relieved of their posts Rylenko and Salmin, the Bashkir and Chuvash ASSR ministers of internal affairs, the Belgorod and Tambov Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration chiefs, and a number of other leaders who exhausted the time limit for restructuring allotted to them but still proved unequal to today's tasks.

[Illesh] Glasnost today is already even more than a policy, it is becoming a part of life. Do you believe that the militia is at the proper level with regard to glasnost?

[Trushin] First of all, about the principled position with regard to glasnost. The party's demand is well-known—cadres of law-enforcement organs must learn to work under conditions of broadening democracy and glasnost. All have to master this science—from the ministry leadership to the ordinary militia employee. There are no ready-made schemes here. Therefore it seems to me that the chief thing is to make the atmosphere of democracy and glasnost an inalienable organic part of the internal affairs organs' official activity. Cooperation with labor collectives and public organizations must be raised to a new level, and joint efforts must be made to consistently purge this sphere of activity of the rust of formalism, showy meetings, and triumphal reports on the growth of the detachment of public-spirited people involved in maintaining law and order.

Life has advanced a whole number of specific organizational forms of informing working people more widely about the state of affairs in the law and order sphere. There are regular press articles by MVD organ staffers, appearances on radio and television, answers to questions of interest to citizens by direct telephone communication, reports by leaders and operational employees in labor collectives, and many other forms. The search is continuing, and its chief purpose is not the formal plotting of reporting points on the "glasnost" graph but the creation of real opportunities for Soviet people to assess the state of affairs with regard to the crime rate and to be directly involved in elaborating and implementing specific measures to strengthen law and order. And these aims are served by the publication of court statistical information, which has now begun. In other words, we serve the people and must work under the people's open [glasnyy] control.

[Illesh] It has repeatedly been said that the desire to have fine statistics has contributed, not least, to such dangerous phenomena as the covering up of crimes and the moral corruption of cadres and has undermined faith in the internal affairs organs' absolute reliability. Is it possible to claim that the militia has today been released from the "pressure" of indicators? Does "figure padding" exist in MVD organs?

[Trushin] The question of improving the system of assessment and its constituent indicators really does exist. It is being resolved, and we take into account our workers' proposals, scientific recommendations, and critical press articles. But it is not only and not so much a question of indicators. They have existed, do exist, and will exist. The chief thing is restructuring in the consciousness and psychology of cadres.

The measure of the quantity and quality of a militia employee's labor is considerably more complex than any set of numerical data, since it is determined by the degree of a person's protection and by his confidence that the militia is ensuring in a guaranteed manner the protection of his life, health, dignity, and property against all criminal encroachments. And if any worker has not understood or realized this fact, then relapses into figure padding, varnishing, and creating a semblance of well-being are inevitable. A rigid control system and the activation of educational work are producing definite advances here. However, the state of affairs with regard to "figure padding" continues to arouse serious concern. In the first half-year more than 800 employees were punished for covering up crimes, and approximately 200 people for falsifying materials.

[Illesh] Let us make use of Lenin's formula: If there is such a phenomenon as bribery, if this is possible, then there is no question of policy. Unfortunately, bribery continues to exist in our society in very diverse spheres of life. What is being undertaken to combat this dangerous type of crime, and is it possible to assert that the organs themselves are guaranteed against bribetaking?

[Trushin] Internal affairs organs have accumulated considerable experience of the struggle against bribetaking. A whole string of criminal groups has been uncovered in Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Belgorod, Gorkiy, Rostov, and Voronezh Oblasts, and a number of other cities. At the same time, we are far from thinking that the celebrated court trials of bribetakers have marked the end of the eradication of this antisocial phenomenon. This year already approximately 7,000 such cases have been brought to light in the systems of supply and transport, construction and consumer services, health care and educational institutions, in individual sectors of the agro-industrial complex, and in trade.

Bribetaking is an unfailing concomitant of bureaucracy, scarcity, and insufficient legal culture. The incipient reforms in the economy and the profound changes in the material and spiritual spheres are depriving bribetakers of the environment in which they flourish. However, this shameful phenomenon will not die out of its own accord. Therefore the chief tasks of the militia and the investigative apparatus still include active and purposeful work to bring to light and eliminate the conditions which bribetakers could use for their own ends and the comprehensive, full, and objective investigation of every instance where officials use their position for their own mercenary purposes.

It has to be admitted that even certain internal affairs organ workers, as a result of their social and moral deformation, hold out their hand for a tip.... Today such cases are on the decline and are becoming an extraordinary, in the literal sense of the word, occurrence. But the 180 renegades put on trial for bribetaking bring shame on the entire militia.

[Illesh] As of 1 January, the country's economy is, to a considerable extent, going over to economic accountability [khozraschet]. The freedom and initiative granted to economic planners and the broad introduction of very different cooperatives into our life demand a new approach to its work from the militia....

[Trushin] Indeed, the forms and methods of preventing official and economic crimes, thefts, and other means of extracting unearned income must be fundamentally reviewed with regard to the new economic conditions.

The task of universal primary economic education is undoubtedly being brought to the fore, and not only for employees of the Struggle Against the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation service but also for all militia workers. But the shifting of the center of gravity to prevention does not mean that the function of coercion and of suppressing criminal encroachments on public property has been exhausted and can be consigned to the archives even tomorrow. Mercenary crimes are, unfortunately, of a quite widespread nature. The total damage from such crimes recorded this year is estimated at more than R10 million. More than 600,000 so-called petty pilferers alone have been caught red-handed.

Individual labor activity is a new factor in our economy. The tasks of internal affairs organs are clearly set out in the corresponding law. But their fulfillment requires a specially considered approach ruling out any interference whatever in organizational, financial, and other questions which are the prerogative of local soviet ispolkoms and other organizations. At the same time, we cannot allow someone who has obtained permission for individual labor activity to use the permit to buy up material valuables stolen from state enterprises or for speculative deals.

Montreal Civil Aviation Convention Ratified

LD241820 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—It has been announced here that by its decree of December 22, 1987, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified a protocol dealing with changes in the convention in the international civil aviation signed in Montreal on October 6, 1980.

NOVYY MIR To Publish 'Dr Zhivago' in January

LD281838 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan writes:

The Moscow literary magazine "NOVYY MIR" starts publishing the novel "Doctor Zhivago" by Boris Pasternak in its January issue (1988). Five books of the monthly will contain the novel, versions of its chapters, the history of writing the work and all connected with its publication in the West.

"The novel's text was cleared for distortions made in it by foreign publishers in the past," Grigoriy Reznichenko, executive secretary of the magazine, said today at a meeting with journalists. "We painstakingly collated all the author's versions of the novel, there were quite a number of them."

Reznichenko noted that over three decades ago Boris Pasternik handed over for reading one of the typewritten versions of the novel to Italian journalist Sergio d'Angelo. This manuscript was printed by a Milan publishing house, though this version did not conform to the author's final edition of the work.

The USSR published many works by Boris Pasternak. Two volumes of his writings were put out last year. Periodicals published numerous research works on his creative activities, the poet's letters and reminiscences about him. The commission on Pasternak's literary heritage took a decision to publish his complete collected works. The poet's country house in Peredelkino near Moscow will be turned into a museum house. The commission made a proposal that UNESCO declared the cententary of the poet's birth (1990) the year of Pasternak.

A decision by the board Presidium of the Union of Soviet Writers (1958) on Boris Pasternak's expulsion from this creative organization was repealed last February.

Human Rights Commission Secretary Interviewed

LD271736 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0400 GMT 27 Dec 87

[From the "90 Minutes" program presented by Aleksandr Krutov and Tatyana Vedeneyeva; interview with Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Ignatenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior lecturer at the Institute of Social Sciences; in Moscow, date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Krutov] A commission for international cooperation in the sphere of humanitarian problems and human rights was recently set up in our country. A guest on our program today is the commission's executive secretary, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Ignatenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and a senior lecturer at the Institute of Social Sciences. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, first of all, who initiated the setting up of this commission?

[Ignatenko] The commission was set up on the initiative of a group of writers, journalists, religious figures and scientists. They included Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy, the well-known scientist and publicist, who heads our commission as its chairman; the writers Aleks Adamovich, Daniil Granin and Grigoriy Baklanov, and the metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomna, Yuvenaliy.

[Krutov] I sense that the commission is a public commission and not a government one.

[Ignatenko] That is right. It is a nongovernmental public commission and is part of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Its task is, one might say, to follow the implementation of human rights in the Soviet Union and abroad—or to be more precise, in the 35 countries whose leaders signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975.

[Krutov] The title of your commission contains the words international cooperation. Is that the main direction of its work?

[Ignatenko] Let us put it this way. The direction of its work is everywhere to struggle together for human rights by cooperation and not confrontation, by the exchange of information, ideas, problems and prospects and not mutual accusations, and by real deeds and not political speculation. It is in this new way and in the spirit of the new political thinking that our commission views its tasks and calls upon the corresponding international public organizations to do likewise.

[Krutov] Will it not turn out that in the struggle on this general scale for the rights of the whole mankind the concerns and rights of individual citizens will get left on one side?

[Ignatenko] You have touched upon a very important problem. The fact is that immediately after the announcement in the country and the press of the setting up of our commission, the commission began receiving individual appeals from citizens who consider that they have not been accorded their rights or that these rights have been violated or infringed upon. Indeed, one needs to say honestly and forthrightly that as at the present juncture—namely, 27 December 1987—the commission is unable to reply specifically and substantively to each of these letters, above all because, as I have already said, the commission is a public one and its does not possess an establishment of assistants. At this stage we see it as our task to generalize these appeals and find, if we may put to so, the kind of painful points in the implementation of Soviet citizens' rights and come out with specific proposals—proposals, for instance, on improving and perfecting Soviet legislation so that it accords with the requirements of glasnost, restructuring and the democratization of all spheres of our life. But I repeat that we have only just begun our work and are only taking our first steps.

[Krutov] Well, let us wish you successful progress in the new year.

[Ignatenko] Thank you very much.

Workers, Theoreticians Discusses Social Issues

OW291011 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0550 GMT on 22 December carries the 30-minute "Questions of Theory" program. The program begins with video shots of the main participants shown at their places of work. The narrator points out that these people—factory workers, builders, teachers—are practitioners rather than theoreticians. Nevertheless, it is they who will take the most active part in the program. The narrator says: "Today, we are going through a veritable explosion of mass interest in the problems of the development of our society, a rebirth in spiritual and political activity. Piles of dogmas are being removed; slogans committed to memory are being discarded; unspoken questions and doubts are being voiced. The quicker this process develops, the more confident we will feel and this in turn, will lead to greater faith and understanding in our children."

The panel consists of practioners and theoreticians. Professor S.V. Pirogov, doctor of economic sciences, chairs the meeting. Among participants are Professor N.N. Maslov, a historian; Professor Vodolazov; and G.G. Filosov. The propaganda aktiv of Elektrostal City also takes part.

The video begins with shots of the panel seated around an oblong table with S.V. Pirogov beginning the program by briefly introducing the above-mentioned professors. After saying that meetings such as these when people have a chance to meet and talk with professional social scientists should be more frequent, Pirogov invites the discussion to begin.

V. A. Vergunov, a teacher, begins the discussion by stating that he came here not to mince words but to voice a serious complaint. He says: "You placed us in a very difficult situation when you failed to reveal the whole historical truth." He goes on to say that the teachers of today are encountering "skepticism and cynicism" among children. Faced with the problem of history books omitting part or all of the truth, teachers, according to Vergunov, had to render the truth as they saw it or knew it, thus risking the wrath of the inspectors. When challenged to name those responsible for this state of affairs, Vergunov answered: "Those who were forced to choose between truth and their own careers and well-being. In my opinion, there were too many instances when scientists opted for a career and well-being over truth."

G.G. Vodolazov laments the lack of the likes of Chernyshevskiy, Belinskiy, and Lunacharskiy—thinkers who captured the enthusiasm of a generation of followers. These people posed the question: Who is to blame? and then answered: What is to be done. He goes on to say that not more than a decade or so ago, "a step to the left or to the right, was not tolerated." Under these circumstances, there can be no question of writers and thinkers influencing serious public thought.

Maslov says that cynicism and skepticism is not the product of glasnost but the result of the long years when glasnost was absent. This being the case, says the teacher, are there any boundaries to glasnost? An unidentified participant interjects that "not all and not everything should be aired to the world." A lively discussion ensues with some supporting placing boundaries on glasnost, while the teacher, speaking in favor of unrestrained glasnost, invokes the name of Lenin in support of absolute truth.

L.A. Dyachenko, a turner and Hero of Socialist Labor, says: "As we are speaking about glasnost, let us remember Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. It was he who emancipated us and pushed this truth to the forefront. Everything seemed to be clear for all to see, including glasnost. Then gradually, things began to die down. And then people begin to await another jolt, like the one that happened recently."

V.V. Kostryukova, a teacher, speaks of the enormous problem caused by poor quality textbooks and supplementary material in social sciences. The problem is of such proportion, she says, that social sciences are no longer attracting promising students, who prefer to go into applied sciences.

Builder S.I. Shedov asks if any of those present had pressure applied to them or if their works were censured. Professor Maslov recalls that in 1982 a journal asked him to write an analysis of Lenin's writings on socialist construction. Seeking a different approach, Maslov settled on "specific real life contradictions" found in almost all of Lenin's later works. The journal refused to publish the article unless the "contradictions" were removed. Since Maslov refused to make alterations, the matter was dropped, until several days later when an article by Yu. V. Andropov faced the problems of contradictions in a socialist society. It was only after this that the journal sought the permission to publish the Maslov article in full.

One of the participants says that the question of class struggle within the Soviet society is no longer a burning issue, or at least it is not frequently referred to as such. At the same time, it would be quite wrong to argue that the class differences have disappeared. Vergunov interrupts by stating that in his opinion, and in the opinion of many others, especially the younger generation, the bureaucrats have evolved into a class.

The discussion moves on. One of the participants suggests that it is the responsibility and the role of the Academy of Social Sciences to pose questions. Vergunov asks: "Do we need a second party? The question was asked and Mikhail Sergeyevich answered the American journalist. But I see no sign of the Academy of Social Sciences coming out with its own point of view, presenting arguments and facts. Or other questions, like the separation of the courts from the state. This is an interesting question posed by Manfred (name indistinct) at a meeting. Or other questions such as the sole right of the party to determine public opinion and other such question that the Academy of Social Sciences should be answering. But up till now, no answers have been forthcoming."

Pirogov denies that the Academy is doing little or nothing in this field. In fact, he says, the CPSU Central Committee has been posing "extraordinary pointed, I would say even unexpected questions" such as the reason for the cult of personality and the possibility, as outlined by Lenin of a two party system. Vergunov answers: "Yes. But when will the answers be provided? We are all waiting for them."

The program ends with the voice of the narrator saying that unfortunately not all questions were answered, as time had run out. However, the discussion will continue in the next scheduled program.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Ukrainian Jubilee Fete

PM291935 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Soviet Ukraine: Following the Path of the October Revolution"]

[Text] Kiev, 25 Dec—The republic's working people are celebrating an important date: the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet power in the Ukraine and the formation of the Ukrainian SSR. A ceremonial session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet involving representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, working people from Kiev and the oblast, and Soviet Army personnel was devoted to this event today.

A report entitled "Under the Banner of the Great October Revolution and Following the Path of Restructuring" was presented by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. The jubilee year of 1987 will go down in history, he said, and every day will see the political and labor calendar of the 8th decade of Soviet power filled with new events. But our memory will return us time and again with emotion to the days when we celebrated the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The anniversary of the Great October Revolution is indeed a political landmark. The comprehensive analysis of our own history and the contemporary political situation in our country and in the international arena contained in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial session in Moscow and the important principles and appraisals it set forth arm us with a clear understanding of our immediate and long-term tasks and the ways to resolve them. The documents of this ceremonial session make it possible for us to gain a deeper insight into the strategic importance of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and 27th CPSU Congress decisions aimed at accelerating the development and restructuring of every aspect of social life.

Working people in the Soviet Ukraine will always remember that two historic dates—the October victory in Petrograd and the first All-Ukrainian Soviet Congress—stand side by side. Soviet power was proclaimed in the Ukraine just 6 weeks after the October Revolution. Life very fully confirmed that the historic choice made by the working masses in the Ukraine was the right one. Thanks to the Great October Revolution and the Leninist party, the Ukrainian people have gained socialist statehood and achieved real national revival. The October Revolution has meant that the republic has scaled the heights of socioeconomic progress. The October Revolution remains an inexhaustible source of our revolutionary spirit and ideological inspiration.

The working people's struggle to establish Soviet power in the Ukraine was an inalienable part of the all-Russian revolutionary process. It is in this context that we will now consider the revolutionary situation in the Ukraine at that time, its motive forces, and the tactics employed by Bolshevik organizations.

V.I. Lenin closely followed the development of the revolutionary struggle in the Ukraine. He maintained close ties with Bolshevik organizations and directed their activity toward struggling for the victory of the revolution. In the period November-December 1917 alone, Lenin was visited in the Smolnyy by more than 30 party, soviet, and worker-peasant delegations from the Ukraine. During this period the Soviet of People's Commissars discussed questions concerning the Ukraine on 45 occasions. Another characteristic feature is that our invaluable Leninist theoretical legacy includes more than 1,000 works, letters, and documents concerning the Ukraine. For us this is a real treasure house of experience and a rich ideological arsenal that helps us to solve complex current tasks. Lenin's analysis of the situation in the Ukraine is an instructive example of accurate consideration of the dialectics of class and national features in social development. He helped Bolsheviks in the Ukraine to clearly define their positions and lead the working masses.

December 25 1917—the day of the first All-Ukrainian Soviet Congress—has gone down in our history forever as the birthday of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The congress decided the question of the Ukrainian people's self-determination and the establishment of a close state union between the Ukraine and Soviet Russia. It should be stressed once again that only as part of this union have the Ukrainian working people been given a guarantee of freedom, independence, and the realization of their cherished dream: the formation of a national, really sovereign Ukrainian worker-peasant Soviet state.

The question of uniting Bolshevik organizations across the Ukraine was also set on a practical footing. The historic merit of the First Communist Party of Bolsheviks of the Ukraine Congress lies in the fact that it established the Ukrainian Communist Party as as integral, inalienable part and combat detachment of a unified Leninist party.

The years spent in civil war were a serious ordeal for the Ukrainian working people. The republic was the arena of bitter fighting and the focus of a serious political and diplomatic struggle. Ukrainian workers and peasants would have found it hard to withstand this ordeal without the all-around support they received from Soviet Russia. They may even have found it impossible.

The Soviet Ukraine was one of the initiators of the formation of the USSR—this community of our country's peoples and nationalities that is so unique. At every stage of building the new society, he noted in his report, the life-giving force of Leninist friendship between peoples helped the republic's working people to solve the most complex tasks.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on to describe the transformations made during the first 5-year plans. With an enormous amount of effort and unprecedented enthusiasm, the working people formed powerful outposts of socialist industry. In less than 5 years the Dnepr Hydroelectric Power Plant—the most powerful in the world at that time—was built in the Ukraine. Metallurgical giants—"Zaporozhstal," "Krivorozhstal," and "Azovstal"—were commissioned, as were the Novokramatorskiy Heavy Machine Building Plant, the Kharkov Tractor Plant, and many other enterprises. Collectivization was a turning point of historic importance in terms of strengthening socialism's positions in rural areas. But the transition to collective agriculture was far from simple. A new, socialist culture was born in the process of socialist building and its values firmly established.

Profound transformations in the economic and spiritual spheres radically changed the social face of the Ukraine. A new man and a new attitude to labor were formed in the process of creating a socialist lifestyle. Shock working and the mass Stakhanovite movement became true symbols of the work enthusiasm of that period. Hundreds, thousands of 5-year plan heroes, renowned production organizers, and outstanding scientists and cultural figures appeared.

The reunification of the West Ukraine, the northern part of Bukovina, and Khotinskiy, Akkermanskiy, and Izmailskiy counties in Bessarabia with the Ukrainian SSR was an important historical event. All the Ukrainian lands were thereby reunified as one union state. The process of consolidating the Ukrainian socialist nation was complete.

This heroic period of creating a new system has always remained in the people's memories. They remember the thirties not only as a time of heroic achievement but also as one of bitter, tragic loss. There are still some periods and events in the history of establishing Soviet power in the Ukraine which require further study and elucidation.

The Great Patriotic War was a severe test of socialism's viability. Together with all Soviet people the Ukrainian people rose in defense of their multinational Soviet fatherland. A total of 4.5 million people living in the republic fought in the Soviet Army. Approximately half of the republic's party organization went to the front. Powerful national resistance arose behind enemy lines. The illegal Communist Party of Bolsheviks of the Ukraine Central Committee, underground party obkoms, party and Komsomol organizations, and partisan detachments and formations operated in the temporarily occupied territory.

The wounds inflicted by the war were painful in the extreme. But our people achieved what seemed to be impossible. In the space of just one 5-year period cities and villages rose from the ruins and ashes and the republic's industrial output exceeded the prewar level.

The Land of the Soviets confidently followed a path of economic and scientific and technical progress. Subsequently, however, the contradiction between new tasks and old methods of leadership deepened more and more perceptibly, which complicated our progress and held back progressive undertakings. The party has made a principled, fair assessment of the signs of voluntarism and subjectivism in the sixties and of the stagnant processes at the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties.

The complex tasks of restructuring and acceleration are now being solved on the firm foundations built during our country's 70-year history.

The historical destiny of the Soviet Ukraine is also inseparable from our union state. "Following a common path with all our republics and in fraternal union with the Russian people and all of our country's nations and nationalities," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "the Ukraine of today is a fine, powerful republic with a developed economy, high standard of education for the people, and an original, socialist culture."

The Ukrainian SSR is one of the country's main metallurgical, machine building, and fuel and energy bases and a republic with a large chemical industry, a developed light industry, and a powerful agro-industrial complex. Everything achieved in the Ukraine is the result of concerted labor and the product of the talent and intellect of the republic's working people and all of our country's nations and nationalities.

The main point as far as we are concerned is our great responsibility to accelerate the republic's socioeconomic development and restructure its economy as an inalienable part of the unified all-union national economic complex. Well aware of their responsibility, the republic's Communists and working people are actively working to implement the socioeconomic program outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress. The preliminary results of our work in the first 2 years of the 5-year period have been summed up. The main national economic targets will be met. We have managed to exceed a number of important plan indicators—quantitative and qualitative. The implementation of the republic's targeted science and technology programs has produced an economic benefit in excess of R2 billion. Two-thirds of labor productivity growth is the result of improvement in the technical standard of production, the work of almost 300,000 people has been saved, and the average annual level of gross agricultural output has risen by 8.6%, or by R4 billion. The gross grain harvest exceeded 50 million tonnes. A total of 40 million square metres of housing has been built in the republic in 2 years, 4.2 million square metres of this total being in excess of the plan.

At the same time, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee noted, while assessing our achievements to date we work on the premise that the republic's anniversary is a good opportunity to once again focus our attention on unresolved tasks. The process of actively modernizing production capital, retooling production, and saving material and labor resources has not yet taken hold everywhere. We have not managed to realize all our plans in machine building, ferrous metallurgy, and capital construction. Plans for the production of some types of agricultural produce have not been met. The problems of production quality are being solved only slowly. There are still a great many serious shortcomings in trade and consumer services.

At this, the second stage in the restructuring process, the success of the task will depend first and foremost on the extent to which party organizations and labor collectives deepen democracy in everyday life. Another key problem on which the success of restructuring depends is the implementation of radical economic reform. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has defined a complex of measures whose implementation must ensure the appropriate restructuring of the republic's economy.

Special attention and skilled assistance are required by enterprises and organizations in industry, construction, transport, and agriculture already in operation and also by those which will begin work on 1 January on the basis of the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. This will in fact involve one-third of all associations and enterprises.

The far-reaching changes in the nature of the current social processes and the struggle between the old and the new require new approaches to ideological work. It is called upon to be geared to an increasing extent to cultivating in people a sense of great responsibility for the end results of their work.

We must always be very careful in our approach to all questions concerning the Leninist principles of nationalities policy in the republic, where representatives of more than 100 different nationalities live and work. Precisely this is the aim of the specific measures designed to improve all patriotic and international education which were recently approved by the Ukrainian

Communist Party Central Committee. We have every reason to say that an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect predominates absolutely in inter-nation relations in the republic. At the same time it largely depends on our public to ensure that national sentiment is not used for the purpose of political speculation.

Life convincingly confirms that the success of restructuring depends to a decisive extent on the energy, single-mindedness, and personal example of party organizations and all Communists. As an experienced combat detachment of the CPSU, the Ukrainian Communist Party unites 3,265,000 Communists in its ranks. This is, of course, a powerful force, but for the restructuring process to succeed every primary party organization must galvanize its Communists to the maximum, give full scope to their initiative, and ensure they play a leading role in real action.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will undoubtedly be an important event in the life of the party and the country. The reports by party committees and bureaus on progress made in restructuring at the plenums and Communist meetings currently in progress in the republic and the rest of the country are a crucial stage in the preparation for this conference. The plenums and meetings held so far have proceeded in a spirit of glasnost and constructive criticism and self-criticism. They have demonstrated that the majority of party organizations are working with greater energy and indeed leading the restructuring process. The majority, but still far from all. It is now very clear that any party committee or party organization must act on the basis of one criterion alone: the achievement of real improvements and real results in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres.

The speaker noted that Soviet people and the whole world have lived the last few days of the year under the strong impression created by an outstanding event which will undoubtedly hold a prominent place in the annals of history. The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed during M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to the United States. The next step, as is well known, must be a solution to questions relating to a substantial reduction in strategic offensive arms and the prevention of the militarization of space. The accords and the prospect of fundamental changes in the international atmosphere show that the concept of new political thinking evolved by our party is finding a response among increasingly broad circles of politicians and the international public.

The Soviet Ukraine is also actively involved in implementing our socialist motherland's foreign policy. It has always demonstrated its loyalty to Leninist principles and firmly upheld the foreign policy positions and diplomatic actions of our state. And today, as a representative to the United Nations and other international organizations, the Ukrainian SSR actively promotes the solution of important international problems.

But, unfortunately, there are forces in some countries that do not like good relations. The Soviet Ukraine constantly finds itself the target of heightened interest on the part of imperialist propaganda, Western special services, and their stooges—Ukrainian and Zionist nationalist centers abroad. They do their utmost to falsify history, distort the party's national policy, and instill a lack of faith in the restructuring policy. But the historical truth is that the Ukrainian people live a full life and, as part of the new, free family, are building a better future through their selfless labor.

The people of the Soviet Ukraine wholeheartedly approve the CPSU's peace-loving policy and support it through work and practical action. The peace and security of the motherland is the concern of all Soviet people, each and every one of us.

The Soviet Ukraine has lived and prospered for 70 years under the banner of the October Revolution and in the union of fraternal republics, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said. We have covered a great deal of ground distinguished by heroism, hard work, and great achievements. We have also had our difficulties and failures. But the main point is that over the past 70 years our people have retained their revolutionary optimism and commitment to Leninist ideals, accumulated a wealth of historic experience, and created a firm base for continued progress. Precisely this is the guarantee of restructuring's success, the guarantee that the qualitatively new tasks facing the republic will be resolved.

The session was addressed by S.V. Ostapenko, member of the CPSU since 1926 and participant in the civil war; A.V. Storozhuk, machine operator at the "Krivorozhstal" Combine and Hero of Socialist Labor; M.I. Mazurkova, head of the poultry farm at the A. Vatchenko Kolkhoz in Letichevskiy Rayon, Khmelnitskiy Oblast; Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General M.K. Tsilipenko, head of the Kiev Higher Military Communications Engineers School; I.I. Storonyak, member of the CPSU since 1935, participant in the revolutionary movement in the West Ukraine, and deputy to the 1939 People's Assembly; M.D. Ganusyak, member of the Communist Party of the United States Central Committee, member of the League of American Ukrainians Executive Council, and editor of the newspaper UKRAINSKI VISTI; Ye.M. Lukyanova, academician at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and director of the Kiev Scientific Research Institute of Pediatrics, Obstetrics, and Gynecology; P.I. Kravchuk, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the United Ukrainian Canadians Society; and S.V. Donchenko, people's artiste of the Ukrainian SSR and chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Theatrical Union.

The session participants were greeted by representatives of the republic's youth and Komsomol and by military personnel.

Moscow TV History Documentary 'More Light'

LD270808 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1345 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Text] [M. Wyanov, identified in concluding credits] Esteemed Comrades, today we are showing the premier of the documentary film, "More Light" [Bolshe Sveta]. [Caption reads: "Central Order of Lenin and Order of the Red Banner Documentary Film Studio, Moscow 1987". A further caption is carried on the screen with audio voice-over: "...the pages of history which are dealt with in this film are the subject of argument and differing evaluations. We do not claim to know the absolute truth, but are convinced that it is essential to carry on a frank debate based on glasnost on the past and present.... The authors of the film." Video cuts to a man in a studio holding a magazine cover with a portrait of Lenin]

[Presenter] This is a portrait of Ilich called Mediation. The artist, Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin, painted it back in 1934, but for several decades few people knew about this portrait. Its jealous guardians kept believing that it shows Lenin in an excessively low-key, sad, and thoughtful mood. Ilich has interrupted his reading for a moment, taken off his glasses, and raised his eyes. He has a lucid, anxious gaze. Today, with the benefit of our knowledge and experience, he seems to us to be gazing into the future decades, asking a mute question: How did we spent those years, what happened on that road? We would like to tell you about certain stages of the road our country has travelled without the notorious device of passing things over in silence, a device that everyone is fed up with and that has hindered things a great deal. We would like there to be more truth and realism, more light.

[Caption reads: "...More Light! - a historical-publicistic narration". Video shows still of soliders under the caption "1917"; men digging train out of snow drifts] These are yesterday's members of the underground and illegal organizations, deportees and convicts, who have taken power in this wounded and exhausted country. Our position was difficult in the extreme, recalled one of the first people's commissars. We bore our cross in fetters around all the prisons of Russia. We knew where you were beaten, how you were beaten, and where and how you were locked up in cells. But not a single one of us knew how to run the state.

[Video shows Lenin surrounded by fellow Bolsheviks, followed by stills of each of the main Bolshevik leaders in turn] Lawyers, economists, philosophers, journalists: 'The most intellectual government in Europe' was how it was described in the West. Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov-Lenin, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars; Aleksey Ivanovich Rykov, people's commissar for internal affairs, arrested eight times, escaped three times; Vladimir Aleksandrovich Antonov-Ovseyenko, member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs, given the death sentence; Nikolay Vasilyevich Krylenko, member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs, arrested five times; Viktor Pavlovich Nogin, people's commissar for trade and industry affairs, deported seven times, six escapes; Anatoliy Vasilyevich Lunacharskiy, commissar for public education, son of an important tsarist functionary, deported for the first time at the age of 24, scientist, poet, and dramatist; Lev Davidovich Bronshteyn-Trotskiy, people's commissar for foreign affairs, subsequently chairman of the republican Revolutionary Military Council, spent 17 years in the workers' movement, but joined the Bolshevik Party only on the eve of the October Revolution; Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili-Stalin, people's commissar for nationalities affairs, party aliases David, Koba, Nizheraeze, Chizhikov, escaped from deportation five times; Nikolay Ivanovich Bukarin, joined the party while in the sixth form of grammar school, which was when he was arrested for the first time; Aleksandra Mikhaylovna Kollontay, general's daughter, worked in social democratic organizations in Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and the United States; Grigoriy Yevseyevich Zinovyev, in the workers' movement from the age of 15, hid in a cabin on the shores of Lake Razliv together with Lenin; Yakov Mikhaylovich Sverdlov, who wrote on a form in answer to the question how many times he had been arrested and deported, "separate sheet attached due to lack of space".

It was with these people that Lenin went into the revolution. On more than one occasion he had tough and sometimes bitter arguments with them. It happened that he found himself in the minority. Lenin tried to use persuasion, he defended the justice of his stand. And nevertheless he continued to believe in them. It is even difficult to imagine that Ilich could accuse any of them of being an enemy of the people. That could not have happened. [Video shows archive footage of meeting in progress]

This applied during the difficult days of arguments about the peace of Brest. These rare pictures, saved by a miracle, show a name vote taking place. [Video shows Red Army recruitment posters, soldiers being addressed by (?Trotskiy) and others]

Books and films have been written and made, and will continue to be written and made, about many of them, heroes of the revolution and knights of the civil war. [Video shows archive footage of children in the street; a line of people]

From the newsreels of the last 70 years, from the first to the last, from the unrolling footage, we have selected the living signs of the times, different ones, both large and small, and we would like to present this wondrous chronicle with as few gaps and cuts as possible. [Video shows ruins of gutted buildings; famous poster of the time showing an emaciated peasant with his arms raised, with the caption, "Help"]

At that time, in the period of war communism, a bitter joke started doing the rounds: In the land of materialism triumphant, material had completely disappeared—there was neither coarse cloth nor cotton print. That was the lot of the people of the twenties. Two misfortunes came hand-in-hand—universal destruction and cruel hunger. [Video shows sacks and crates being carried out of a shed marked "Moscow-For the Hungry"; Soviet calendars from the twenties bearing political slogans and a portrait of Marx; breaking ice floating down a weir; crowd of people; poster showing industrial production]

The Land of the Soviets was following an untrodden road. We were first. Somehow those words have become familiar currency, a sort of long-standing cliche, a newspaper slogan. But the people of the twenties really were pioneers. It is important for us to know the whole of their journey and to value every year of our history. [Video shows scenes at a construction site, industrial scenes]

Shatura. Shatura GES. That name remained in Lenin's hasty notes. It was a line in a textbook, the first page in the plan to transform Russia into an electrified country of works and factories. [Video shows sluice gates opening, camel hauling a cart, cartful of salt by a lake] the resumption of salt production on Lake Baskunchak was termed a triumph of supreme importance by Vladimir Ilich. [Video shows posters saying "Give the towns bread" and proclaiming alliance of workers and peasants; shoppers making purchases; men hewing railway ties and building a railway]

How, in fact, did the actual idea of replacing the requisitioning of farm produce of the times of the civil war with a farm produce tax arise? Vladimir Ilich talked with the peasants who had come with petitions. A villager complained that people were at the end of their tether—give the peasants, the countryside and the people a breather. Undo the screws a bit. And the point at issue here is not just specific historical circumstances. This was true then, in the twenties. And it is true today as well. In the economy, one must not dictate with command-based, administrative methods.

The revival of the Russian countryside, the revitalization of the whole hungry, down-at-heel country, crushed by need, took place in an incredibly short space of time, in well-nigh 1 year or 2. And this is a historically-tested argument in our present-day debates about reforms, the market and prices. [Video shows neat village houses seen, apparently, from a moving train; man thatching a roof; windmill turning.]

[Video shows peasants plowing and sowing, putting grain through a machine; sign saying "The cooperatives will take care of the pence, and the peasants' pounds will take care of themselves"; man taking sacks of purchases] All this was the prologue for, or rather the start of, the New Economic Policy. In the countryside, a particular class of peasants of average means grew. Land had been given to the average-level peasant by the proletarian state. And now, at the start of the twenties, the first machines appeared in his backyard. The so-called well-cultivated farms [kulturnoye khozyaystvo] emerged. The Russian village in those days was not a domain of neglect by a long shot, and the phrase about the imbecility of village life no longer applied to it. No! [video shows peasant family eating with relish from a communal soup bowl]

The October Revolution gave the peasant land, and he now saw for himself, in real terms, how his life had altered and improved. [Video shows a grimacing Dzhigit baby being given a bath with the caption "A Dzhigit makes an acquaintance with soap": a peasant lights a cigarette; happy, animated faces] The people of the twenties, people of towns and villages, founders, builders, and defenders of our state.

Here is some newsreel footage. [Video shows a boy being chased by a militiaman. Then shows the caption "Granddad Sukhorukov decides to 'immortalize' himself", with a sequence showing an old man, clutching a samovar behind his back, poking his head through a street photographer's painted prop to be photographed as a cavalryman] The smile of a Moscow street urchin. And here is an amusing sketch of life on a noisy and busy market square. [Video shows woman trying on hat, carriages passing in street; busy market scenes, fir-trees, and food on sale; modern-style headquarters of the Moscow Association of Enterprises for the Processing of Agricultural Industry Produce]

In a discussion of NEP, the New Economic Policy, it is easiest and most straightforward to see the external signs—the advertising, the Christmas crowds in the markets, the NEP men and the NEP man attitude. That was all true. But it is much more important to examine and understand the vital necessity of the New Economic Policy and to assess the concrete results. NEP was a rejection of obsolete aims which had parted company with reality.

That's what NEP was. [Video shows brightly colored poster advertisements for biscuits, cigarettes, footwear, beer and babies' pacifiers] the solid Soviet chervonets [gold coin], the hard ruble: That's what NEP was [Video shows workers in a counting-house].

[Video shows consumer cooperative shops] Not by everyone and far from immediately, was there acceptance of Lenin's statement that a system of civilized cooperative societies, with public ownership of the means of production, is a system of socialism. Of course it would be naive today to copy the methods of the twenties, but to learn how to trade, to manage things, to count each kopeck you can earn for the nation as well as for yourself, to develop initiative—all those are the lessons that NEP taught us, lessons taught in earnest and to be remembered for a long time to come.

[Video shows a book fair, bookstall, posters campaigning for literacy, children learning to write in school] The cultural revolution was one of our immutable gains. [Video shows adult education class, name-board at the gates of the "N.I. Bukharin" workers school] The lives of all of us and the things we create do not come from nothing: You can't create something from nothing. All of us are the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of these cooks and laundrywomen, factory fitters and ploughmen. All of us are the inheritors of the anti-illiteracy campaigns and the workers' schools.

A special feature of that time, one that has not yet been fully appreciated, is its democratism. [Video shows Krupskaya talking amid a crowd of people] Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya worked to get kerosene for the schools and used to send the plays of Shakespeare out to the backwoods. [Video shows Kalinin taking tea with a group of ordinary people] Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, all-union elder, used to listen to deputations from the back of beyond over a cup of tea, helped people, and raised their cases. [Video shows Lunacharskiy talking with a group of workers] With Anatoliy Vasilyevich Lunacharskiy, a people's commissar, workers could converse as equals.

[Video shows a woman and a man grooming themselves in front of a mirror, with screen caption "Going not to church, but to the theater"; posters advertizing performances by the Meyerkhold Theatre] The country of the Soviets, an adolescent country, knew how to preserve everything that was truly of value and to support everything that was truly artistic and innovative. [Video shows portrait of poet Blok, a book of his poem "The Twelve"] Following after Aleksandr Blok, artists learned to listen to the music of the revolution [Video shows paintings depicting revolutionary themes]

[Video shows equipment being hauled out of a house and put onto a horse and cart] A detached house in Moscow, in Merzlyakovskiy St, belonging to Lianozov, the oil king, was taken over for the needs of the cinematograph. It all started with newsreels, with editions of the Cine-Pravda that were still silent. [Video shows newsreel being made of the unveiling of a memorial to the poet Koltsov]

Alongside Kamenev, then chairman of the Moscow city Soviet, was Sergey Yesenin. [Video shows Kamenev delivering a speech on that occasion, Yesenin standing at his side]

All due respect to the cinematographers, as they called them in those days: They have preserved for us the rhythm and the gusto of the revolutionary generation. [Video shows children donning pioneers' kerchiefs, workers coping with manual tasks, marching feet, brief montage of revolutionary posters]

Seven November 1922. Under the new calendar, now. Moscow, the Kremlin, Red Square. Lenin was sick. But when they learned of his greetings it went around the square: Ilich is with us! Ilich is always with us. [Video shows cavalry riding across the Red Square; the Kremlin clock; faces in the crowds; large banner with Lenin's portrait]

Quite recently, these pictures, which really are widely known and familiar, made an appearance in television films made to scripts by Mikhail Shatrov. These films, which are honest and truthful, and which, alas, lay for many years upon the shelf, gave rise to a huge response. It seems that for a long, long time people had simply not had enough frank, up-to-date, straightforward discussion about Ilich. His thoughts and his deeds close in together with our own day. This is important, attractive, and essential in the highest degree. [Video shows Lenin standing in a kind of countyard by a motor car, looking at the camera, removing and replacing his cap; people looking into the countyard through an arch, being held back by soldiers; still photographs of Lenin]

Our story is about months, about weeks, about days that are full of grief and sadness. It was a severe winter, with a lot of snow. Snowdrifts had brought the trains to a halt. The first temporary, timber mausoleum was built in order to enable those travelling from the distant east, from Siberia and the Urals to be able to bid their farewell to Ilich. Krupskaya was categorically opposed to it. But a mausoleum does indeed remain there for ever, by the walls of the Kremlin on the Red Square. [Video—apparently from contemporary newsreel film—titles: calendar sheet for 21st; inscription: "Moscow. The professors who are treating Lenin." Four men seen walking out of building and getting into a motor-car, which drives off. Still photograph of Krupskaya and Lenin. Text of government announcement of the sudden death of Lenin. The timber mausoleum, people emerging from it]

While fighting his fatal disease, Lenin was still able to dictate in 1922 several pages, what was in effect his own political testament. It contained personal descriptions of the most eminent figures in the party and state. Bukharin is not only the party's major and most valuable theoretician, he is also legitimately regarded as the pet of the whole party. But it is only with a very great deal of doubt that his theoretical opinions can be considered as being fully Marxist. Then there is Pyatakov, undoubtedly a man of outstanding will and outstanding ability, but one who is excessively carried away by being the administrator and by the administrative side of the business. I am not going to go on describing the other members of the Central Committee according to their personal qualities, Lenin pointed out. I will recall only the fact that the October episode of Zinovyev and Kamenev was of course no chance happening, but that we accuse them of it personally, pehraps, to the same small extent that we do Trotskiy of non-Bolshevism. [Video shows montage of documents, one of which is Lenin's party membership card; Bukharin addressing meeting; Dzerzhinskiy and Pyatakov seated next to each other at a table; Kamenev addressing a meeting]

Comrade Trotskiy. Perhaps the most capable person in the present Central Committee. But with excessive self-assurance and an excessive liking for the purely administrative side of the business. Stalin is too coarse and this shortcoming, which is perfectly tolerable among Communists and in dealings between us, becomes intolerable in the office of general secretary. Comrade Stalin, having made himself general secretary, has concentrated immense power in his hands. I am not sure that he will always be able to use this power with sufficient caution. [Video shows Trotskiy standing on board a moving ship, raising his hat in greeting to people on shore; Trotskiy at meeting; still pictures of Stalin; Stalin addressing a gathering, receiving applause; Stalin standing between Kalinin and Molotov; Stalin, Trotskiy, and Kalinin]

Ilich's testament was known at that time only to a narrow circle. Moreover, people paid with their freedom and sometimes with their lives for keeping the testament. The Leninist principle of collegiality was cast into oblivion. More and more often the will of Stalin alone was substituted for the will of the party. How the people and the party lacked the Leninist ability to see the great and the small; the Leninist spirit of principle; and the Leninist flexibility! The ideological struggle started to be accompanied by slanderous accusations and offensive labels. Nearly all those who worked with Ilich gradually left the stage. That is how the departure from Leninist norms began in the life of the party and the country. [Video shows color photograph of a portrait of Lenin]

This all-union fair was perhaps one of the last festivities of the NEP. The New Economic Policy was in its last days of life. No one officially cancelled it. But it died. An end to the small proprietor. An end to NEP. The famous Sukhareva Bashnya was a kind of symbol of those years. The Sukhareva Bashnya disappeared, too, it literally disappeared from the face of the earth. The country entered a period of gigantic, unprecedented, radical refashioning: the break-up of the whole economic structure, both in industry and in agriculture. [Video shows poster with the year "1927"; poster advertising the sixth all-union Nizhniy Novgorod fair—1 August to 15 September 1927. Clip showing pickets outside a clothes shop, one of whom carries a placard with the legend: Don't buy anything in the shop of Matusevich—the shop has been placed under a boycott by the union; clip of the Sukhareva Bashnya; clip of railway trains]

In those days what was being talked about was what was vital, one's daily bread. The middle-ranking peasant [serednyak], together with a small number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, provided 80% of the gross figure, three quarters of all merchantable grain. Collectivization. The idea of introducing cooperatives of small farms—and at that time there were about 25 million of them—was put forward by Lenin and supported by the party. However, serious departures from Leninist policy were made in the enormous and complex task that affected the fate of the peasantry. The line of struggle against the kulaks was at times treated in such a broad manner that it also took in a considerable part of the middle-level peasantry. And those who don't like it, those who, heaven forbid, oppose it, then put them down with the kulaks, the kulak elements, the kulaks' henchmen.

And all the kulaks' henchmen, indiscriminately, are sent thousands of versts away, beyond the great Siberian rivers. This bitter and terrible outcome was written about by Aleksandr Trifonovich Tvardovskiy. These are lines about the father of the poet, a village blacksmith, a true son of his motherland:

In rags he helped her, held her up and fought.

True life at last began because of her

Upon the long-awaited strip of land.

And when he fell, by her to ruin cast.

He bore no malice, uttered no reproach:

For when the change afoot is very great

The small excess stand merely by the way.

[Video shows peasant plowing fields behind a horse; poster advertising collectivization; peasants signing on into collectives; antikulak campaign material; people moving out of a village on carts, saying good-bye to their fellows; abandoned homes; young women making a parachute jump from a church roof; crosses being knocked down from the cupola of a church; bell being thrown down from a church tower and smashing on the ground]

For the centenary of the Fatherland War of 1812 the people collected money throughout the whole of Russia, a half-kopek or a copper kopek at a time, for this Moscow temple, a monument to Russian arms. And the golden-domed temple of Christ the Savior opened up to everyone who approached Moscow. [Video shows the church;then further clip showing the church being blown up]

The 1930's—complicated, severe, not straightforward, special times. [Video shows parts of slogans calling for and noting industrial and economic achievements] today, half a century later, we look at the path we have travelled closely and carefully. All of this is us. All of this ours. Our plans that shook the world. Our 5-year plans. The line: "a country of heroes, a country of enthusiasts" probably does not convey the whole truth of those times. But let us ask ourselves: But would the new Russia, the country of the Soviets, have survived without these supreme efforts, without the great construction projects, without this supreme tension that at times was not human? Yes, in the fire, in the noise, but most of all in the endless tiredness, in the hard work. For indeed the thirties, the years of industrialization, gave us coal and oil for engines, for tanks, ultimately. That was the time when the very concept of the remote nationality ceased to exist; that was when our multinational Soviet Union became an industrial power. We had everything: the excellent, the joyful, the heroic, the bitter. [Video shows scenes of industrial activity in the thirties; coal-mining operations; oil-well in the Central Asian landscape; railway construction]

The reporters were not afraid of showing accidents, disasters, and losses on the screen. In the memory of generations are the epics of the polar explorers, the loss of the ice-breaker Chelyuskin in the ice. The news film did not avoid necessarily acute topics. There are a lot of knots that we have not yet untied today. There are a lot of problems that we have not solved. Far from everything came off and was achieved as we dreamed. But that was the time when the new Soviet person was born, a living person, not without sin, but nevertheless a new person, nevertheless a Soviet person. [Video shows clip from newsreel showing the funeral of people killed in a pit disaster; clip showing the sinking of the Chelyuskin; a cashiers' office for the payment of wages, carrying slogans against idlers and shirkers; people standing in line for vodka; antidrink posters being put up; children ceremonially breaking bottles of spirits; people drinking tea]

Pushkin, beloved by all of us, the watchword of the whole people. The classics of Russian literature that belong to us all. It is from here, from the twenties and the thirties that the thunderous verse of Vladimir Mayakovskiy rings out. It was from here that Mikhail Bulgakov, and Maksim Gorkiy, that tireless gatherer of talents, came. Books, songs, and films from those unforgettable years. [Video shows newsreel clips of a page from an 1822 manuscript of Pushkin's "Yevgeniy Onegin"; a page of a manuscript of Dostoyevskiy's "Crime and Punishment"; Mayakovskiy's wardrobe and desk; Maksim Gorkiy walking from a car toward a building]

The thirties. The famous diamond collection was opened for viewing by everyone for the May Day holiday. But how remote and belonging to the past the treasures of the 300-year old house of the Romanovs already seemed. [Video shows crown, tiara and other diamond jewelry; calendar with the picture of the tsar's family on the cover crossed out with a red cross; May Day poster]

Behind every edition of the newsreel was an event, a landmark, a stage. Yes, at the beginning of the thirties we experienced harvest failure, and once again famine. Yet nevertheless, with some difficulty and not all at once, life did in fact become increasingly better, wealthier, and brighter. The creator of the new life was the people and in our account we invariably presented the chronicle of records of the all-union exhibitions of major achievements. [Video shows agricultural activities from newsreels]

[Video shows newsreel clip contrasting poor living conditions previously endured by workers at the "Molotov" motor vehicle plant with improved conditions—clean floors, better housing and washing facilities] The newsreel was not an impassionate observer which took no part in things. It stirred people up, made them indignant and fought for a new life, for everything new.

[Video shows a department store, consumer durables, fabric and clothing on sale? The age of the Moscow cooperative trade association, the age of the Moscow union of clothing artels. [Video shows models on catwalk demonstrating clothing and audience raising their hands in approval] And this is how the new clothing of the season was then approved—by a revolutionary show of hands by those empowered to vote. [Video shows newsreel clips of the time—new gramaphone records, street scenes, a tunnelling success, cameramen] We have gathered them all together, the people of the thirties: the ordinary people, people in the street, and the world-famous, the great people: [Video shows each of the following in turn]...Physiologist and Nobel Prize winner Ivan Pavlov; the Kaluga visionary and Leonardo da Vinci of the 20th century Konstantin Tsiolkovskiy; the leader of the soviet school of Physics Abram Toffe; Igor Kurchatov; great physicist and undaunted humanist Petr Kapitsa; Botanist Nikolay Vavilov; plant-breeder Ivan Michurin. [Video shows sequence of close-ups of ordinary people and workers] The people of the thirties—the people of the fields and the factories. The smiles showing their white teeth are also the signs of history. They sensed the time to be their own time. They saw life as the real and visible embodiment of everything that had been designed by the Russian Bolsheviks, the Leninist party of communists. Their faith was truly boundless and devout. Of these remarkable people and of that heroic and tragic time, the truth must be told.

There is no getting away from history, just as there is no getting away from oneself. And to embellish it, or simply to paste white paper over some of its difficult aspects, is both immoral and unprincipled. Why do it? Why take us to be fools? After all, we lived at that time, and we remember it all. There is a lot that we know.

[Video shows Stalin with other men sailing in a boat along a canal] From one year to the next, all the achievements and victories were linked with one single iron-sounding name. Shown here is a trip along the White Sea-Baltic canal. Next to Stalin are Voroshilov, Kirov, and Yagoda—a sinister name in the list of perpetrators of mass repressions.

[Video shows Stalin being given an ovation and handshakes in a conference hall; Stalin conferring with Mikoyan, Voroshilov, and Molotov; locomotives and a factory named after Stalin's picture on an airship, placards and a hillside; aircraft flying in formation with Stalin's name; a Stalin cake and a Stalin monument] History can't be rewritten to erase the errors. Stalin—and this is said in the party documents—initiated the efforts, and not inconsiderable efforts, made in the fight against the internal party opposition. All that was true. But the people in the thiries simply believed in him. They saw in him the legitimate and only heir to Lenin. Out of those who were members of the Central Committee Politburo while Lenin was alive, only he remained, he alone. The history of the party and the history of the revolution were rewritten. His infallibility and wisdom were hailed as absolute. They sang his praises with crude flattery and loudly glorified him almost as a demigod born of the sun and the moon. The personality cult. Unfortunately even today there are people who are ready to forget what things were like and what it cost the country, the party and the people. We remember with pain the personality cult. It meant people arrested and shot, the night-time knock on the door, the clatter of lift doors closing. [Video shows trains moving across snow-covered country] It meant endless, hopeless, mute lines at the gates of prisons and transit camps. In those lines were friends and relations. There were thousands of biographies cut short and lives maimed. But even there, in Kolyma and Inta, in the timber felling areas and the camps, the majority of the innocent people arrested remained faithful to the party, the revolution, and Lenin. That is the way it was. We have a duty to know and remember every year of our history, and not to look away and turn aside from the truth.

[Video shows calendar for 1937; Papanin's Polar explorers being feted; demonstrators bearing placards calling for death to fascist spies and Trotskiyite bandits and expressing support for the NKVD and Yazhov] The year of the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution was marked by noisy parades, by leaflets scattered about like rain. [video shows parade on Red Square in darkness with banners and portraits of Stalin being carried] But a terrible black cloud, as it were, hung on the day of the October parade over the whole country, over the capital, over Red Square. Thus remained in the memory the tragic year of 1937.

[Video shows close-up still of Stalin] The cup of bitterness passed no one by: factory workers and directors, peasants and party secretaries, poets and scientists. [Video shows stills of army officers.) But the most terrible blow was the one dealt to the workers' and peasants' Red Army. Hacked down by the repressions were three of the five marshals of the Soviet Union [MSU]; three of the five army commanders first-class; all of the 10 army commanders second-class; 50 of the 57 corps commanders; 154 of the 186 divisional commanders; all of the 16 army commissars first and second class; 25 of the 28 corps commissars; and 401 of the 456 colonels. [Video scans part of a list of names showing only the last few letters of each surname and the years of their birth and death; the deaths are all in 1937 and 1938]

[Video shows typewritten document of military oath signed by Stalin; calendar for the year 1941, zooming in to closeup on month of June] The attack was perfidious and unexpected. But this is how the factor of unexpectedness was subsequently assessed by MSU Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov. [Video shows explosions, a column of disabled army trucks] The view about its unexpectedness, Zhukov said, a view that is put forward now and that was put forward in his time by Stalin in his speeches, is incomplete and incorrect. What does unexpectedness mean, when we are speaking about action on such a scale? The chief danger lay not in the fact that the Germans unexpectedly crossed the frontier, but in the fact that the strike power of the German Army was for us unexpected. Unexpected for us was their six-fold and eight-fold superiority in the decisive areas. Unexpected for us too was the scale of concentration of their troops and their strike power. That was the main thing that predetermined our losses in the early period of the war: the retreat, the millions killed, the tragedy of being taken prisoner.

[Video shows still of Stalin's son in German captivity, clips of Soviet prisoners of war] In a prisoner-of-war camp was the son of the supreme commander in chief, Lieutenant Yakov Dzhugashvili. The disaster bypassed not a single family nor a single home. Thus began the very longest day in the lives of millions of people, and it lasted for nearly 4 years, that day of unprecedented hardship and grief, and of great courage and high glory.

[Video shows a ruined city, bullet-holed and blood-spattered personal wartime documents, Red Army soldiers receiving instruction] In the early part of the war, the most tragic part for us, the people managed to show patience, endurance, and courage. About them, the soldiers of 1941, the army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote in those gravest of days: We know that the enemy is strong. We do not entertain any illusions. We will endure it. We are stronger in heart. We know what we are fighting for—the right to breathe. We know what we are enduring it for—our children. We know what we are standing for—Russia, the homeland. We will be able to endure the bad battle reports because we know that the good battle reports are to come. The people had faith in the party that was in power, and the party itself had no interests other than those of all the people.

[Video shows various wartime scenes—civilian and military] It was probably Konstantin Mikhaylovich Simonov who was first to count how many days and nights the Great Patriotic War lasted: 1,418. We shall note just two landmarks: June 1941 and the victorious May 1945, and between them stretched the whole war. One of Lenin's great prophecies came true and was confirmed by life and death itself: that no one will ever defeat a nation in which the workers and peasants have learned, have sensed, and have seen that they are defending their own Soviet power, the power of the working people, and that they are defending a cause whose victory will ensure that they and their children can enjoy all the benefits of culture and all the creations of human labor. They died in the arms of their sisters, they shed their blood on their rain-capes, in the courtyards, on the staircases. Gasping for breath, they whispered their last words or else they were killed at once. They died so as to bring a moment closer, even a brief moment closer, the end of the war. They were led into that fantastically hellish storm by their conscious faith—faith born by our system and by all the years of work by the party of Communists—that it was they who were bringing the victory closer. [Video shows Soviet soldiers in Berlin burying their fallen comrades.] Countless were the wounds, the battles, and the paths travelled.

[Video shows Soviet people carrying banners, Soviet soldiers at rest] No one slept on that night or the morning, the morning of 9 May, Victory Day. We have become accustomed to the unbelievable number of 20 million dead. The war and the victory linked all people's destinies into a single one: the destiny of the soldier who reached Berlin. [Video shows smiling soldiers' faces, posters of workers, film of gutted buildings, and civilians helping to clear rubble]

We marked the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution at a difficult time, when we could not eat our fill. But it was a joyful period. Perhaps the young, those who did not have to hear the howl of the bombs, who have never had food ration cards in their hands or who have not had to think where their next piece of daily bread is going to come from, need to hear our tale most of all. [Video shows bricklayers and plasterers on construction site, family moving into new apartment, poster saying, "The field work can't wait"]

After the wartime period of misfortunes and the cold and hungry years of 1946 and 1947, there was a desire above all to show the joy of work, housewarming parties, celebrations however small. [Video shows scientists taking measurements in field, field of sunflowers and waving corn, aerial shot of fields with forest strips]

It was all difficult. Immense plans for taming nature were drawn up—canals, afforestation strips, transformation of the land. [Video shows Soviet geneticist Trofim Denisovich Lysenko addressing meeting. A portrait of Stalin hangs in the background. Lysenko shakes hands with people who bring him bound documents at a ceremony]

That experience is still important and significant today. Yet at the same time, in the biological sciences for instances, adventurism flourished: Lysenko ruled and held sway. The Leninist principles of free and broad discussion and honest scientific argument were forgotten. To raise objections to Lysenko was impossible, mortally dangerous. After all, the inflated stature of this Salieri of genetics was supported by the father and teacher himself, by the wisest of all men. [Video shows shots of audiences rising for standing ovations, clip of vast portraits of Beria and Stalin hanging behind a speaker at a meeting]

This was the era of prolonged applause. We must know the names associated with it. Generations should also know by sight this man in the pince-nez. He is Beria, executioner and ringleader of a criminal gang.

[Video shows passing cars with fir-trees on roof, new year shop window displays, women shown trying on fashion dresses, 1950 calendar shown] It was an equivocal time. And when we gaze today at the newsreels of the late forties and early fifties it is not just nostalgia that makes us yearn for the years of our childhood and youth. We should like to conjure up this time with all its colors and smells and details. Life was difficult and holidays rare. And yet we remember those years as the years of rebirth, restoration, and affirmation of peaceful life. [Video shows clip of earth-moving vehicles plowing up landscape, hydroengineering project, shots of passers-by buffeted by strong winds in a snow-storm, struggling to stay on their feet] We worked to link up the Don and Volga Rivers, to irrigate Crimean soil, to lay a canal in the distant Turkmen steppe and desert, to dam rivers. In polar Norilsk, we worked and lived, without giving up, in snowstorms and blizzards.

[Video shows black-edged flag flutters over city roofs. Portrait of Stalin in street. People weeping in street and standing in stony grief. Girls address meetings, with Stalin's portrait in the background] There was a hard frost and a blizzard raged that March in 1953. For 30 years he had stood at the helm. People no longer thought of him as an ordinary mortal. And when Levitan [famous radio announcer] choking with emotion, pronounced the words with sorrow, after a severe illness, from a myocardial infraction, all of us alive then had the same acute feeling of being orphaned. The grief and the orphanhood were captured in the newsreels. But today another feeling is noticeable, the feeling that this was a watershed. [Video shows old men taking off their hats. Stalin's coffin is carried in procession. Salutes are fired in Moscow. Kremlin clock chimes midday] We still saw him as a most loyal Leninist, and his coffin was carried to the mausoleum. The party of Lenin was yet to tell the people the whole difficult and bitter truth about him. March 1953 was a watershed.

[Video shows crowds seeing off passengers on train with slogan about the virgin lands: smiling faces and waving hands. Tracked vehicles move slowly through the snow] The spring of 1954. How the faces of the people of the fifties had changed! The spirit of let's get on with it, seemed to reach us from our mothers and fathers, from the first 5-year plans—it was the start of the development of the Virgin Lands. [Video shows field being plowed, and wheat waving in the wind. Combine harvester at work] It was the period of the first furrow and the first Virgin-Land loaf of bread. It was a time of immense nationwide hopes.

[Video shows outside of Kremlin. Inside, audience rises and applauds as Khrushchev heads leaders arriving on platform]

In February 1956, the 20th CPSU Congress was opening in Moscow. On the surface, everything seemed to be as before, serious, formal, and official. We were all living in expectation, however. No one knew yet what exactly the congress in the Great Kremlin Palace would be discussing, but the presentiment of a historical event was perhaps universal. [Video shows Khrushchev putting on his glasses and perparing to speak at the congress. A young-looking Khrushchev nails a plaque to a wall as peasants applaud. Khrushchev is shown receiving an award at a presentation ceremony]

The Central Committee's report was delivered by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. He was well-known in the party and among the people. They remembered the energetic secretary of the Moscow gorkom from the thirties, they remembered him as one of the youngest members of the Politburo under Stalin. They remembered how for days and weeks and months he disappeared into the shafts of the Moscow metro, how he had worked in the Ukraine before the war. [Video shows Khrushchev in military uniform in company of soldiers. He is shown receiving a loaf from villagers]

They had met him on the paths of the Great Patriotic War, near Kharkov and in Stalingrad, and in half-burned, just-liberated Kiev. They knew that the concerns of rural workers were particularly close to his heart. [Video shows Khrushchev on rostrum addressing congress. Applause from leadership and audience as he finishes speaking. Trucks carrying loads, builders putting up sign on empty ground saying "Ulitsa Mira, house No 122"]

Khrushchev spoke twice at the 20th congress. Aside from the Central Committee report, he also delivered a report on the Stalin personality cult and the surmounting of its consequences at a closed session. It was an undoubtedly bold action, an act of personal courage. But the main thing was that the party was resolutely going back to Lenin. The truth about the cult, shocking and tragic, was needed by the people, the country, the party, and the world. [Video shows construction project, followed by young people on a dance floor. Old houses contrasted with new housing estates]

Young people today should know without fail how many hopes the 20th congress raised and how many avenues it opened up. The voices of new poets and new songs rang out. The whole country seemed to have got younger. Of course one can—and it is easy to do so today—criticise the Cheremushki-type housing estates, all identical like twins, and to pour scorn on the five-storey houses built under Khrushchev. But let us remember one thing. People moved here from dilapidated housing, hovels, and basements. People who could not even dream of an individual apartment moved here.

[Video shows crowded stadium, with display taking place in arena] Fears were disappearing in Russia. It turned out you could talk without ceremony to a foreign visitor, hold an argument, make friends. Moscow was carried away by the unprecedented youth festival, something that had not been seen before—a world festival at Luzhniki. [Video: caption says "1957". Film of model of satellite; sheet of music; still of Shostakovich writing at his desk; film of passers-by outside the "Sovremennik" theater]

The 40th anniversary of the October Revolution was the year of the first sputnik, it was a year of discoveries and achievements. The 1957 score of the Festive Overture of Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Shostakovich appeared. It was the year the Sovremennik studio theater was born.

[Video shows Khrushchev chatting to people at a reception. Shot of Khrushchev, flanked by a young-looking Brezhnev, addressing a hall of people seated at tables. Shot of Khrushchev applauded by crowd, examining machinery] What a dramatic turnabout! The same person who had told the whole world the truth about the Stalin cult was now increasingly adopting a hectoring manner with the creative intelligentsia, issuing injunctions and ordering them around, and assuming a crass and sometimes altogether insulting tone. But it was not just a case of crassness. In lecturing people and telling them what to do, Khrushchev was in point of fact trying to stifle healthy, useful, constructive criticism.

[Video shows Khrushchev presented with a sheep amid general applause and mirth] Elements of uncompromising incompetence, a propensity for hare-brained schemes, posing and an uncritical attitude to his own person became increasingly manifest in Khrushchev's activities.

[Video shows a very tall sheaf of grain stalks presented to Khrushchev amid handshakes and applause. Poster shows dancing cartoon pigs with legend: Pigs will thrive/on healthy feed./Legumes and corn/is what they need. Further cartoons of happy farm animals and marching corn cobs, with caption, Make way for corn. Another caption says: By 1980 grain production will reach 18-19,000 million poods. A cartoon table is laden with meat. Clip of Khrushchev cutting a ribbon]

Our maritime ports, previously geared to exports, became ports for imported goods. We began to buy grain for hard currency instead of exporting and selling it. And at the start of the sixties Khrushchev proclaimed in the party program that in exactly 20 years communism would be built and that we would be way ahead of the United States in meat, milk, and butter. This was how great and elevated concepts were in large measure discredited and even vulgarized. [Video shows water pouring through dam sluices] In the final analysis this led to Khrushchev's resignation in 1964, a resignation that was by no means voluntary.

[Video shows rocket rising into the air, cutting to Moscow monument of soaring rocket] That is how we spent 10 years. And yet, we shall remember them as the years of the radio signals of the first sputnik and Gagarin's unforgettable, devil-may-care Russian phrase, Let's go! We shall remember those years forever as the years the Land of the Soviets went into space.

[Video shows opening sequences and different logos of various newsreel programs over the years] Reporters and newsreel cameramen have long been called the chroniclers of contemporary life. The names of the news programs changed, the years and decades passed. In propaganda material, the press and the newsreels, the picture of our existence became increasingly showy, bland and tranquil. [Video cuts to still portrait of Brezhnev, followed by photographs of Brezhnev's family, Brezhnev as a young man and in the army] Our narrative is about a quite recent period. It is about one life, one biography that everyone is well-acquainted with. The house in a working class suburb. The engineering diploma. The paths of war. Let us say right away without reservation that his record during the Great Patriotic War was a worthy one. [Video shows stills of Brezhnev inspecting an industrial site and sitting at a desk speaking on the telephone. Clip of Brezhnev in a farm visit holding a stalk of wheat and talking to people in a field]

After the war, there was party work in different posts and different offices. And not just in offices. In the late sixties and early seventies he spent more and more time with the people, mixing with people.

[Video: Caption says 1967. Further stills of Brezhnev meeting workers, working at his desk. Clip of Brezhnev signing international document. A rocket is wheeled along a track. There are shots of an unidentified control room. An ice-breaker cuts a path through an ice-bound sea. Shots of excavators at work and of a central Asian hydroproject] Leonid Ilich Brezhnev headed the party and state leadership for 18 years. Those years are fresh in our memory. Can they be dismissed wholesale as a period of stagnation in domestic and international affairs? Of course not. In those years, too, the country was alive, working, building. On the credit side, we acquired an enormous, multifarious experience of practical socialism, incredible in scale, and not yet fully interpreted. It involved retreats, victories, defeats, and great achievements. [Video shows construction sites, Druzhba gas pipeline, ship launch, aircraft in flight, steel production, chemical plant, gleaming new residential housing]

Let us think about this with facts and figures at hand. We reached military and strategic parity. In the last three 5-year plan periods, from 1970-1985, national income increased six-fold. Much was done. But putting our hand on our heart, can we say we were good managers of everything we had produced and accumulated? Toiling alongside us were innovators, fighters, foremen made of iron who in many ways were ahead of their times. Take team contracting: Today everyone talks about it, it's useful, it's necessary. But Nikolay Zlobin, the builder from near Moscow, literally had to fight the bureaucrats and pen-pushers for team contracting! Aleksandr Gitalov, the plowman, also fought and won. Or take Svyatoslav Fedorov, the opthalmologist and doctor, whose fame now extends across the whole world. How much he had to overcome! A wide variety of talented artists worked in our country's art. Today the word Bolshoy is used to write about the ballets of Yuriy Grigorovich and our principle troupe: the Russian word is understandable everywhere without translation. [Video shows further shots of new housing, signpost Zelenograd at entrance to town; clip showing Zlobin, Gitalov, Fedorov at work; clip from stage performance, final curtain]

Everything is memorable for us, the tears of parting, the smiles of sadness in the 100,000-seat Olympic arena. Everything is memorable. Ilich warned on more than one occasion: Beware the unrestrained words of praise, beware flattery and adulation. How accustomed we have grown to bands and vivats, to ostentation, to noise and to show! It is only recently that we began to sort things out. And we're still sorting things out to this very day. Let it be said at once: No one is allowed to cast a shadow over the feat that these lads achieved. Komsomol members. The first builders of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline]. But what a drama this is in the life of the young, the Komsomol, the party, and the whole country. For behind the victory communiques, behind the golden welds and the silver spans there are acute problems that have not been solved. It turns out that the BAM did not, in fact, begin to operate at the appointed time. And that the return produced by the line of the century, by the thousands of millions that have been spent, is far, far lower than was planned. The territory surrounding it has not been mastered. And there is nowhere for the thousands and thousands of young builders and railwaymen to live. Those are the things that have been happening. Those are the hard lessons. [Video clip shows closing ceremonies at the Moscow Olympics; audience in Congress Hall Meeting giving wild applause; ceremony at which Komsomol volunteers for the BAM construction project are being seen off; film of construction work in progress on the BAM; BAM posters]

We have often been too starry-eyed and too short-sighted in our calculations. The country, Tyumen, it seemed, and the other underground storehouses were inexhaustible and could be relied upon forever. But it became more and more difficult to go for the "black gold" and the gas, one had to go further and further, virtually to the Pole. And the caterpillar tracks of the supertractors wounded and spoiled the earth's skin. One of the biggest lessons was the carefree, thoughtless invasion of the fragile organism of nature. An unprecedented about turn was prescribed for the northern rivers. Thank God that it was possible to ward off that threat, at the cost of no little effort. All together we brought our weight to bear. [Video clip shows Arctic wasteland; oil pipelines in course of construction; caterpillar tractor vehicles at work; hydro-installation]

And then Lake Baykal, that jewel of ours, has to be rescued! It is good that our country is great and vast.

There are still places where one can film grandeur on this scale. Things have been retained, things have been preserved, but how much has been lost? It is possible that we might irrevocably lose the stave church on Kizhi, one of the glories of Russia. How many questions there are! And even quite recently we tried hard to see neither the queues nor the shortages nor the filth: none of the problems! Sometimes, especially for the correspondent and for the camerman they flung open the doors and brought out the latest thing in short supply from under the counter. People saw everything. And we would frequently show a false shop window full of the plenty that had allegedly been achieved. The rate of economic growth fell catastrophically. In point of fact not one of the last three 5-year plans—the ninth, the tenth, nor the eleventh—was fulfilled. And all the time we were hypnotized. We were bewitched by anniversaries, by round figures, by important dates. All hands to the pump to meet the red-letter day on the calendar at any price, to get one's report in, and, incidentally, to get off to the cashier's office to pick up the bonus. And get orders and regalia. And what lay behind all of this? If one is to judge by the chronicle, everything in our country was running without a hitch, with the tempo of a march. If only things were like that in life, in real, proper, life on earth. [Video shows effluent collecting in a water-course; clip taken from camera on board a boat moving along a river; clip of stave church buildings; still shots of posters; clip showing well-stocked green grocers. Tractors and trucks leaving production lines decorated with figures marking a landmark in a production run]

Morality based on double standards consumed people's spirits like rust. We saw things and we knew, we did not believe the fake achievements. How firmly the souls of some figures from among the inviolable had been eaten into by assurance of their own infallibility, their own indispensibility, and the unshakable nature of the manager's chair; and by the pacifying feeling of proud tranquility. Moscow was declared to be a kind of exclusive zone, the centre of so-called exemplariness. And not a word aout the fact that the housing problem in the capital had become a very acute and serious political problem. Not one word, either from a party platform or from a newspaper column. How, then? Is everything in Moscow exemplary? The capital's subway system long ago failed to cope with the flow of passengers. It remains today uncomfortable and packed. But Grishin, Moscow's top leader, kept on praising everything and repeating mechanically: We have the world's best subway system. Like a breath of fresh air we needed an open, broad discussion of problems, a clash of opinions, a quest for the truth. Had things gone on a little longer, those plans for a memorial complex on the Poklonnaya Gora could have become reality. [Video shows clip of industrial feats; Grishin addressing meeting and receiving enthusiastic applause; people moving into new flats; bridge decorated with slogan about making an enterprise exemplary; Grishin cutting a ribbon to open a new stretch of the subway; model of vast monument for the Poklonnaya Gora] They intended to use masterpieces like these—if that is the proper word to describe them—to reflect a topic which is sacred for all of us. And then again they had second thoughts, but late in the day, when literally millions had been sunk into the ground. Yet another lesson. Public life was stifled. It was put into a kind of a stand-still. Things that can only be recalled with bitterness took place against that background. [Video shows models of figures intended for the Poklonnaya Gora monument; earthwork half completed and abandoned at the memorial site; posters showing Brezhnev]

From the recognition of true achievements things moved on towards unrestrained verbiage, towards loud and familiar epithets, the wise, the great. His articles and his speeches were declared to be a new contribution to the theory of Marxism. They even speak seriously about outstanding military services. But what are we recalling? For we ourselves were doing the writing and making the films about the commander of the troops and strategist. His memoires were awarded the highest literary prizes. He was awarded more Gold Stars than Marshal Georgiy Zhukov himself. But the main and the most terrible thing was that in the stuffy atmosphere of eulogies, unrelieved by draughts or breezes, the microbes of the most dangerous social diseases bred: conceit, which Lenin found so hateful; the possibility of dipping into the state coffers with impunity; and the confident belief that all benefits have been made available to you, to you and you alone. Oblasts, republics, and whole regions ended up immune to criticism, as it were. Examples of this are the Kuban, Bashkiriya and Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Things went as far as criminal machinations involving cotton, to corruption and nepotism, embezzlement of public funds. Disgrace. And that is just what it is. [Video shows ceremony in which Brezhnev is presented with an award; another similar ceremony; document case inscribed: "To Marshall of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev, Leonid Ilich"; montage of copies of Brezhnev's works; Brezhnev on platform with Kunayev, waving to the crowd; cotton-growing fields and operations to tend them; Brezhnev pinning a medal on Kunayev]

It's not by chance that the party had something to say about all of this. A shadow over the pure and shining image of the party person. We found ourselves on the edge, on the very eve of the most terrible danger that Lenin wrote about, in the situation of a party that has given itself airs, of a nation that has given itself airs: a nonintensive, ossified economy; a gap between word and deed; decline in international authority. In a word—a pre-crisis situation. [Video shows aerial clip of the Kremlin and Red Square in Moscow]

The funeral music on the Red Square died away. The hooters fell silent. Once again a watershed arrived in our history—so much now is clear. Life itself presented the bitter and costly bill. Lenin pointed out quite specifically that it is essential not to pull the wool over our own eyes. We have to have the courage to admit frankly the facts as they are. It is indeed the party's high level of responsibility for the fate of the people and the fate of socialism that led to the conclusion about the necessity of restructuring. We are all of us learning now, we are all of us passing through the great and difficult school that is life—a school of truth and openness, a school of widening democracy. We are learning the things that are new. [Video shows funeral ceremony at Red Square; workers standing by their workplaces in silence; work in progress on hydro-construction project; work in progress in machine-tool shop; and work in a range of other areas of economic activity]

So seriously, then, are we an ungifted people? A people that are not willing to work? The history of our country proves and demonstrates that this is certainly not the case. So something must have prevented us from doing things better and in greater quantity, more sensibly, and more logically. Something and someone must have prevented us, and we have to sort it out rationally. And this we have to say. And again we do not have to do this in order to criticize someone or to point the finger at someone, but in order to go on living. With the passage of time the significance of the 27th Congress becomes increasingly clear and precise. A firm and decisive turn, fearlessness in discussing difficulties, new approaches, new decisions. The main characters in the drama are the people. And the main means for putting these force into operation are democracy and new methods of economic management. It was a Leninist congress. That is what a young worker wrote to PRAVDA. That description is a correct, a deep and a just one. [Video shows male speaker speaking to camera; clip showing the outside of the Kremlin; still photograph of portrait of Lenin]

These drawers contain a card-index. The mailbag of the central magazines and newspapers. Every day more than 1,000 readers' letters. Every day. Of course, these include personal complaints and troubles and things that need sorting out. But since April 1985, following the 27th Congress and the Central Committee plenums, the character of the mailbag has changed sharply. All the same, glasnost is a surprising thing. The voice of the people. I have read an article by a well-known academician and economist. He writes that we smelted twice as much steel as the United States but that we produce only one-half to two-thirds the amount of final product—machines and machine tools. Is it possible to discuss this kind of thing calmly? The alarm has to be sounded here! Another letter disputes this, and at the same time continues the discussion. But perhaps we've had enough of the newspapers repeating that this is bad, that that's no good! I myself am a merchant seaman, a trader, as they say. I have visited a lot of the world's ports. I have seen with my own eyes how Western businessmen line up to get hold of machining centers which are the latest output of the Ivanovo association. There's a level for you that's no lower than the world level—and it's probably even higher! [Video shows index card drawers in an office; workers attending to correspondence; a series of three rooms, each of which is similarly equipped; factory yard littered with semi-finished goods; ship being unloaded in port; close shot of Ivanovo machining center and computer panel and display]

Another opinion, another view. Comrade editor! Why do you still not name names and positions held, even though today we have glasnost and restructuring? Please say who, specifically, is to blame for the fact that our children are only just mastering the computer alphabet. Who is it that robbed them of that joy? Who bears responsibility for the fact that we have fallen so far behind in electronics and that the gap is getting ever wider? More likely than not, you will not publish my letter. I am an engineer, a specialist holding a diploma. During my free time I estimated the amount of time and resources belonging to the people that are spent on so-called patronage. Does it make the potatoes and the beets and the other produce into golden produce? No it doesn't! It makes you sick, if you'll forgive me, when you look at them afterwards on the state-shop shelves. [Video shows clip shows trainees operating computer keyboards and displays; further shot of letters section in the newspaper office; agricultural work being done by hand]

But we are able to work—this comes from another letter. We have the people to feed the people fully with tasty food. We have read a lot and we have heard a lot about the Lenin kolkhoz in the Tula Oblast. I went there with my wife. I wanted to see it with my own eyes. Here are my observations for you: In the morning all you see in the village are tiny children. Everyone is at his job, everyone is at work. And all are sober. The land there is non-chernozem. The neighboring farm does badly. But on the Lenin kolkhoz with Chairman Starodubtsev—he's a peasant, he's a true master of the land! We went up to him and asked whether we couldn't move there to Spasskoye Village to work? No, they say, there's competition! There's a line, 5 years! We should all be working like that on the land. [Video shows agricultural operations of different kinds being carried out; residential accommodation on the farm]

As Lenin wrote, people want to know everything, they want to give an opinion about everything, and they want to set about doing everything deliberately. When I heard about the tragedy, I went to the rural soviet and went to the cashier's desk. I added up my savings. I had enough. Do I need a lot as a pensioner? I understand: Our state is a wealthy one. It can cope with any misfortune. It will help. But this Chernobyl grief is a special one. It's like war. Everyone has to be given aid. The Chernobyl mailbag. It's still coming in today. They showed it on television: The station's working. But the town is empty. There's not a single living soul. The population has to be told everything, every last thing, holding nothing back, when times are good, when times are bad. [Video shows further readers' letters; Chernobyl following the accident showing the power station and clean-up work being carried out; clip of deserted housing in the neighborhood of Chernobyl]

Lines from letters: We've already had restructuring for more than 2 years. Is that a long time or a short time? Where we are, in Kazakhstan, restructuring began late. For how many years our leadership sat down in lordly mansions and residences, cutting itself off from everyone and everything. Thank you for your frank word of honor. Thank you for opening the gates wide. We need children's hospitals much more than we need dachas outside the city for officials. [Video shows fine houses set in large gardens]

Another letter from Kazakhstan. I am writing to you with mixed feelings of shame, of trust, and of hope. The friendship of the peoples is one of our great gains. What blood has been sacrificed in paying for it! In our city of Alma Ata there have eben slanderers and enemies to be found who have been able to deceive the young people, to stage disturbances on the squares and on the streets. But that is not to be. No one can set us against each other, no one can disunite us. The friendship of the peoples of our union cannot be shaken. [Video shows city scenes from Alma Ata; night-time shots of uniformed figures moving, young people running, against the sound of broken glass; further city scenes]

The main enemy of restructuring is the bureaucrat, the functionary the pen-pusher. Not for him democratization, the new system of elections. But we workers like it. You can make a choice—not just in words, but in fact. You can elect the ones who are really worthy. [Video shows election poster, stationery for use in elections, voting paper for the Beloomutskiy settlement soviet election in the Moscow Oblast held on 21 June 1987]

In virtually every letter, in virtually every response, there is the main concern: peace. So what? The songs of the young, their rhythms, are unusual, sharp, and strange to us. They sing them together. They applaud them together. They want to live in peace and friendship. The children of the Land of the Soviets and the children of the United States. These are also the signs of the new. Public, people's diplomacy.

An open dialogue of hearts and minds. No doubt this is why we believe in the reality of a world without violence, without wars, without nuclear and conventional weapons in a way that is sincere and heartfelt, and not in a formal and official way as sometimes used to happen. [Video shows rock music being performed; young people applauding rock groups; audience waving Soviet and U.S. flags; meetings and conversations between Americans and Russians]

Our story is coming to the end. But what are the conclusions, the results? No, what has been passing in front of us throughout these seven decades is certainly not a succession of mistakes and disappointments. There is a lot of which we can be proud, a lot we can hold dear. Behind us are the achievements of the recent difficult and complex years. Behind us is the breakthrough into space. The years of restoration, of rebirth, of rallying. Behind us are the forties, years of trial, years of victory. Behind us are the prewar 5-year plans, the civil war, overcoming hunger and destruction. Behind us is the greatest of the world revolutions. The cause that was started on the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, from 25-26 October under the old calendar, a great and a just cause, continues. Our course is clear. It has been adjusted. More socialism, more democracy, more light. [Video shows people walking through city streets; workers in port; workers riding on flat open truck on railway; archive film of soldiers and peasants interspersed with contemporary film of city dwellers. The credits at the end of the film list the authors of the script as I. Itskov and M. Babak. M. Babak is also named as the director. The presenter is M. Ulyanov.

Economic

Voronin on Wholesale Trade, Self-Financing

LD271102 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1620 GMT 24 Dec 87

["Along the Road of Radical Reform" program; interview with Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab, by Political Observer Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesinskiy]

[Excerpt] Lev Alekseyevich, full financial autonomy presupposes the absolute necessity for a decisive, I would say, changeover to wholesale trade in material resources. What is being done in this respect in our country? What has been achieved in the outgoing year, in the course of the outgoing year, and what will be done from 1 January onward?

[Voronin] Lev Aleksandrovich, from 1 January 1988 the Law on the State Enterprise comes into force. It will be the basis of the life of thousands of our Soviet enterprises. From 1 January 1988 the enterprises of 20 ministries will change over to work in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing, in addition to those that have already been working in this way in 1987.

The work of enterprises in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing requires the organization in a new way of the supply of equipment and materials and of the marketing of output. On the one hand, enterprises need the guaranteed possibility of purchasing with money earned the material resources which are necessary for the production of output, for technical re-equipping and reconstruction, and for resolving their social questions. On the other hand, the responsibility of labor collectives for the final result of their work has now been sharply increased. While previously the production plan from above, the production of output and provision for it was planned via orders, today all enterprises must deliver output in accordance with customers' requirements and in accordance with the exact dates which are written down under contract. It is these two conditions which wholesale trade, as the main form of supply of equipment and materials, meets most fully and corresponds best, optimally, to the new economic mechanism.

We started introducing wholesale trade in 1987. More than 10,000 enterprises, various institutions, scientific research institutes, and design offices, enterprises of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building, a number of nonindustrial ministries have in 1987 been working in conditions of wholesale trade. But it must be said that the changeover of enterprises and of entire industries, of the national economy as a whole to being supplied via wholesale trade is not a simple matter. The June 1987 Central Committee plenum set the precise and clear task to see to it that wholesale trade becomes the main form of supply of equipment and materials. The task is to organize economic relations between enterprises in a new way. Today economic relations between enterprises must be built on the economic principle, on the principle of mutual advantageousness and mutual responsibility in the work of enterprises.

What has wholesale trade shown in 1987, esteemed Lev Aleksandrovich? First of all, I would be like to note a number of positive features. The work of enterprises in conditions of wholesale trade has shown that the times when enterprises placed their orders and were supplied with material resources have been brought closer together. This has, of course, had an effect on speeding up the rate of turnover of currents assets. This has resolved questions of reducing the cost of the supply of equipment and materials. This somewhat raises the stability and reliability of supply and, of course, ensures the reduction of contingency [strakhovoy] reserves at enterprises. In conversations, in the press, and with you personally I have already repeatedly given examples of the work of the Kuban agricultrual combine which has been working for the 3d year now in conditions of wholesale trade and today expenditures of raw and other materials per ruble of output have been reduced by 40%. In 1987 Estonia's builders carried out a considerably larger volume of contracting work virtually without an increase in resources compared with 1986. Many scientific research enterprises of Belorussia and Leningrad have considerably reduced orders for and comsumption of material resources for increased volumes of scientific research and development work.

But, speaking of the positive features, we nevertheless haven't yet found reliable economic regulators of the consumption of material resources for the large-scale introduction of wholesale trade. The experience of the enterprises of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building, which it is true in 1987 have not been working in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing, has shown that the absence of such economic regulators has resulted in many enterprises of this ministry availing themselves of wholesale trade, creating above-norm reserves, in particular of rolled metal. At a number of enterprises such above-norm reserves are double the norms. This is very unhealthy.

[Voznesenskiy] And this makes their financial state more difficult.

[Voronin] Of course! The collectives of the enterprises of this ministry will change over to working in conditions of full financial autonomy from 1 January 1988. We hope, of course, that this will soon rectify the matter. But today, preparing for this matter, they are beginning to see their above-plan reserves and are setting us the task of taking them away. We, of course, our territorial bodies, are devoting attention to this matter, are dealing with this matter. But this is not an easy matter because a number of above-norm reserves, materials which have no certificates, they are to some extent not of the quality level required. That is to say, there are addtional difficulties in marketing them as supplies of materials and equipment. But we hope that the changeover of the enterprises of this ministry to full financial autonomy will of course change the state of affairs. I would also like to say that we are placing much hope on the work of enterprises in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing, which, of course, must especially draw their attention to reducing consumption, to economizing. But I would like to remark, nevertheless, that meeting with labor collectives on the spot, meetings and assessments with managers of enterprises show that many are making insufficient use of the cost-fighting [protivozatratnyy] levers and economic incentives which are contained in full financial autonomy and self-financing. Individual enterprises are, after all, still timidly taking up these questions. And here there is, of course, a large reserve.

[Voznesenskiy] Lev Alekseyevich, you are constantly visiting enterprises, you are talking to people working there. What I would like to know is what, from your view, is the purely emotional attitude of people toward the idea itself and toward the possibility of changing over to wholesale trade. Don't they lose confidence in the stability of supplies of equipment and materials?

[Voronin] You know, Lev Aleksandrovich, from all meetings this year and I made many visits to enterprises in the town of Gorkiy, in Gorkiy Oblast, in Armenia, in Georgia, in the Ukraine, to enterprises in Moscow and Moscow Oblast, Leningrad—at all meetings with managers and labor collectives everywhere they all speak with satisfaction and positively about the changeover to wholesale trade. You know, I am sometimes alarmed at how lightly we set about this business. After all, this is not a simple matter, not only on the part of the bodies that supply equipment and materials. After all, this also involves the great tasks facing the collectives themselves. The norms of production reserves must be correctly calculated. The requirement must be determined precisely. Provisions must be drawn about the payment of bonuses for saving materials. This is a major task.

[Voznenskiy] Yes, this is especially important, the more so as next year, if my memory doesn't fail me, you will change over approximately 10% of the material and technical supply facilities to wholesale trade and thus wholesale trade will only gradually gather pace, as the saying goes, increase in scale. This creates a somewhat unusual situation in which two highly different principles will coexist. What do you think, what problems may arise here and how do they need to be solved at various levels of management, and first of all directly at the enterprises.

[Voronin] Well, if you'll allow me, I would like to introduce a small correction. It is not 10% we are changing over to wholesale trade but 15%.

[Voznesenkiy] That is very good news.

[Voronin] We set ourselves a modest task. We think we will without fail overfulfill it and we hope that in 1988 larger volumes will be provided through wholesale trade. How are we organizing work on the further development of multichannel wholesale trade? We are organizing it in two stages. In the 1988-90 period when, after all, all cost-fighting levers and incentives have not yet been fully actuated, when state orders will, after all, still have an appreciable share in the production plans of enterprises, we are planning to transfer to wholesale trade 60% of the volumes of the production for production-technical purposes.

We have planned to increase the volume of wholesale trade 3.5 times, compared with 1987. In 1988 over R35 billion of output will be ensured through wholesale trade. We are changing over entire groups of output to wholesale trade. A number of electrotechnical products, of instruments, a number of building materials and of industrial rubber goods, practically all kinds of special clothing and footwear, and a number of other articles and materials will be changed over. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Gostev Discusses Reform

OW300219 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0745 GMT 25 Dec 87

["On the Path of Radical Reform" program; interview with B.I. Gostev, minister of finance, by Soviet television and radio Political Observer L.A. Voznesenskiy]

[Text] [Voznesenskiy] Hello, Comrades. Boris Ivanovich Gostev, USSR Minister of Finance, is taking part in our program today in connection with the coming into force on 1 January of the Law on State Enterprises and Associations and the change in the majority of our enterprises toward new economic management principles.

Boris Ivanovich, we all know that our country's financial system is one of the key elements of the entire economic system, and its role and responsibility in the normalization of our economy and its successful development are extremely great. In this connection, I would like to ask the following questions: How do you assess the current situation in the fulfillment of the financial plan and what should and can be done for significant financial normalization of our numerous enterprises?

[Gostev] The role of finance in the change toward full economic accountability and self-financing is objectively growing. The profit earned by an enterprise is becoming the main index for assessing its activity. Everyone knows that this is one of the most important financial indices. This is why the change toward a new management system will certainly be connected with the strengthening of financial circumstances of enterprises. There are many problems here. Normalization of the financial situation is now very important to us.

The national economy as a whole overfulfilled the 10-month profit plan by 2%. There was a profit of R3.4 billion in excess of the plan. The growth rate increased by more than 5% compared to the corresponding period of last year. This index was fulfilled in industry and other spheres of the national economy. I think that it is very important to emphasize that in the beginning of the year, there was a delay in realizing the profit plan, but as you can see from the figures I have quoted, the situation is improving.

Cost reduction is another very important financial index. The cost of industrial goods has been reduced by 0.7%, and R1.6 billion was economized in excess of plan.

[Voznesenskiy] Boris Ivanovich, does this figure of 0.7% exceed recent figures?

[Gostev] It is a very important question. I would say even more specifically that in recent years—the late seventies and the early eighties—we had a situation where there was no practical cost reduction in producing industrial goods and, indeed, in construction work. There was a certain change during the 2 years of the new 5-year plan. The figure of 0.7% for cost reduction that we reached is approximately 2 to 3 times greater than in those years.

[Voznesenskiy] I do not know if one can express confidence, but I would like to at least express hope that this is the beginning of a new trend, a trend that will have a tremendous influence on the normalization of our entire financial system, in particular if we increase the rate of cost reduction.

[Gostev] You are probably right in saying so. I also hope that things will develop in this way. We are firmly set on the course of strengthening the national economy, and such an important index as cost reduction should, of course, take a dominant place.

Profits, a most important qualitative index, is not fulfilled everywhere. About a quarter of our enterprises do not fulfill the plan tasks. In the 10 months they were short by R6 billion in fulfilling the profit plan, and almost 25%—that is, the same number—did not fulfill the plan for production cost reduction. They have increased production cost by R3.4 billion.

Of course, a rather complicated situation is developing at these enterprises because the financial indices do not exist on their own; they primarily reflect the events that take place in production: boosting production efficiency, improving quality of goods, and economizing raw and other materials, that is, management methods. The better the management is—or managing [khozyaynichanye] if we use Lenin's expression—of our collectives, the better are the financial results. Why do some enterprises find themselves in difficult financial circumstances? They do not fulfill the basic index, which—together with profit—is a main assessment index, the fulfillment of contract obligations. Enterprises do not fulfill contract obligations, and they pay large fines for this. By doing so, they consume the financial results they have achieved.

The second thing I would like to emphasize is the fact that we still have great nonproduction losses and expenditures in the national economy. This is a great reserve that should be given the greatest attention. I will again cite several figures. Over R800 million in nonproduction expenses and losses—in the form of above-plan losses caused by spoilage, write-offs that exceed normal losses, overtime pay, time wasted, and so forth—is included in production costs.

What does this lead to? Owing to the causes I have mentioned and some others, a number of enterprises end the year with a shortage of working capital. Financial circumstances are aggravated by an enterprise diverting working capital to unplanned purposes; this leads to suppliers and contractors not getting paid and delays in repayment of bank loans.

Ministries and associations should do a lot of work to normalize the financial situation. Without this, the change toward new management methods will be difficult. Of course, I do not exclude another possibility, that of rendering aid by the Ministry of Finance and its branches to the numerous enterprises that lag behind or experience difficult financial circumstances. Such aid is being rendered. However, one should not rely only on aid. The main way to normalize finances and financial circumstances in the change toward new methods of management is to improve one's own work. One should mainly earn money and additional profit and correct the existing situation.

[Voznesenskiy] I would put it this way: The normalization of financial circumstances of an enterprise should start from and be implemented through the normalization of the production process itself or the production itself.

[Gostev] It is the main thing.

[Voznesenskiy] Yes, it is the main thing, and it is the only reliable basis, the long-term and permanent basis, for continuously strengthening the financial circumstances of every labor collective. At the same time, ministries and departments, including the Ministry of Finance, have so far significantly restricted the initiative of enterprises, which we are currently supporting so much, with all kinds of instructions and directives, which in modern conditions are sheer anachronisms. What is being done in your ministry to lift or at least reduce these restrictions?

[Gostev] What can I say to this question? We probably got carried away in issuing various instructions in an attempt to regulate everything from the top. This of course limited the initiative of labor collectives. It unquestionably has taken place, and it has been criticized by the party and the government.

[Voznesenskiy] This reflects some kind of distrust in leaders at lower levels and of labor collectives themselves, if you wish to put it this way.

[Gostev] I fully agree with you. I think it is not only a matter of distrust of labor collectives. There is another side to it: the belief in documents [bumaga]; that is, when an instruction is given, we believe that all life will proceed the way it is written. Life, of course, is much more complicated, and the abundance of various binding documents on the one hand suppresses the initiative of labor collectives and on the other hand creates a belief that after a document or an instruction is issued, all matters will run smoothly. Of course life is different, and of course you are right in saying that this should be changed. How should we change? There are relevant solutions. The Law on Enterprises and Associations has been adopted and will come into force on 1 January. We should strictly follow the framework of this law and under no circumstances bind the labor collectives with additional instructions. I should say that the Ministry of Finance strictly carries out this policy. For example, we have reconsidered all documents relevant to the Law on Enterprises. We have revoked about 200 instructions that contradict the law. This work still continues because there are norms that probably do not directly contradict the law but can indirectly prevent its implementation. We are carrying out this work and will probably complete it in the near future, some time in the first quarter. However, there is another side to this question. To revoke unnecessary instructions is sometimes seen as total removal of control, including financial control. I think some comrades confuse two different questions. It is very important, on the one hand, not to bind the initiative of enterprises and labor collectives and give them complete freedom of action, but complete freedom of action within the framework of law. Sometimes one can see in this the following mood: We shall do things the way we wish. A formula has been proposed that an enterprise has the right to do things not forbidden by law but has no right to do things banned by law. This is why there will definitely be certain control. This control should not be obtrusive, and it should not bind labor collectives. It should not be petty control, but there should be control over serious issues. Indeed, we cannot abandon the main formula proposed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin that socialism is registration [uchet] and control.

Control should be considered a very important function that helps an enterprise. For some reason we have a concept that control is directed against an enterprise. Unfortunately, this has been the concept in controlling and controlled organizations; there are contradictions between them. However, it should be the opposite. The collegia of the Ministry of Finance—the ministry is setting policies toward making financial bodies primarily the assistants of labor collectives—should help them discover reserves.

We must admit that we have a great number of enterprises that work at a loss. In industry and agriculture as a whole, 13% of enterprises work at a loss. We have enterprises bringing in a low profit. According to an assessment, we have approximately 25% of enterprises that either work at a loss or bring in a low profit. It is difficult for them to work in the new conditions of management. We should, first of all, pay attention to these collectives.

[Voznesenskiy] You are quite right. I think we should put special emphasis on this problem. However, the state should aid, help, and ensure a collective of an enterprise on a rainy day, primarily one that finds itself in a difficult situation not through its own fault; its workers and employees should not be without means of existence. Indeed, this is a socialist society.

[Gostev] That is without question. Of course you do the correct thing when you put this problem in such a broad aspect. This is the most difficult issue at present. On the one hand, some enterprises are now changing toward new methods of management, while others continue to work by old methods. This change will be a most difficult one, and I think that one should work very hard while changing toward the new methods. The introduction of financial accountability and new methods of management will not give immediate results; the main thing is to improve work indicators. The change toward financial accountability does not improve the work of an enterprise if it is used as a slogan. It should create preconditions for improving enterprise work, and this is an important thing. We are only giving a management tool which should be used to earn wealth, to obtain more profits, more allocations from the social development fund and the production development fund; in other words. . . [Gostev changes thought] Many people, however, think that we should hand them wealth. There are several aspects of this. The government recently decided that the collectives changing toward new methods of management will receive very great privileges. Now, 70% of profits earned by an enterprise in excess of plan will remain at the disposal of the enterprise, and only 30% will be transferred to the state budget.

[Voznesenskiy] Until the end of the 5-year plan period?

[Gostev] Yes, until the end of the 5-year plan period. We have given them an enormous instrument, a lever, which should help enterprises improve their financial situation.

[Voznesenskiy] But what will happen to those who, because of circumstances—I wish to reemphasize, those not depending on labor collectives—find themselves in difficult circumstances, and they, let us say, would not even have money to pay current wages.

[Gostev] Well, this is quite possible. This has been taken into consideration, and a decision has been made which provides an enterprise finding itself in difficult financial circumstances to get a loan to pay wages for a period of up to 10 days. However, I wish to reiterate that one should not count on this; this should be considered an extraordinary case. Everyone cannot count on loans and live on loans. Besides, the loan should be repaid. [Video shows a brochure entitled "On Radical Restructuring of Economic Management, Collection of Documents," with an inscription on the upper right-hand corner "To Comrade B.I. Gostev"] This, again, means that one should improve one's work, improve the production and financial indices, and repay loans to the bank. If we do not do this, parasitism [izhdivenchestvo] will develop still further. This is not directed toward such a situation.

[Voznesenskiy] Boris Ivanovich, I would like to ask another question: What is being done to strengthen the ruble and money circulation in general?

[Gostev] This problem is, of course, a very important one in the chain of all tasks being solved in our country, including the change toward new management methods. Apparently, it is impossible to strengthen financial accountability and introduce self-financing without strengthening the ruble. In the late seventies and early eighties, a situation developed in our country where monetary incomes grew very rapidly—and the growth of monetary incomes is a good thing; but the fact that they were not supported by a corresponding mass production of goods and services is a weakness. In accordance with the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the government, many groups are now included in the work to strengthen money circulation. However, there is only one way to strengthen money circulation: Increase the production of goods and paid services to the population. The increase in food production and a solution of the food problem is a particularly important part of it. All preconditions for this have been created. In particular, a resolution was adopted by the Central Committee and the government on changing almost the entire agricultural system because the RSFSR, the RSFSR Agroprom, and several other republics are changing toward new management methods.

[Voznesenskiy] One final question, Boris Ivanovich. The things you have told us about the normalization of several issues connected with the production process assess to the fact that we have a program of some kind for financial normalization of both individual enterprises and the society as a whole. Are there any grounds to make this conclusion?

[Gostev] Unquestionably. I can simply remind you that the decisions of the June plenum envisage the development of a special program for the financial normalization of the national economy. This work has been organized, it is being implemented, and we should solve many current tasks of financial normalization by the end of the 5-year plan. There are, however, more difficult tasks. They are not in the framework of the current tasks. These tasks are designed for a broader perspective, for a more extended period of time, and we are now working on them. All union republics and all ministries are preparing programs. Many ministries have approved them at collegia; union republics have also considered and approved programs. We are now summing them up and will shortly make a report to the government on a general program for financial normalization.

The main work lies ahead, and formulation of the program is, of course, only a beginning. Every deed has its beginning, and hard work will be needed to further implement all these things. We are working in this direction.

[Voznesenskiy] Well, Boris Ivanovich, thank you for your interesting account. Goodbye, Comrades.

Volkov Reviews Civil Aviation Problems

OW291331 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0430 GMT 28 Dec 87

[From the Novosti newscast; L. Elin video report on a news conference at the Ministry of Civil Aviation, with Minister of Civil Aviation A.N. Volkov—recorded]

[Text] A news conference, summing up the work of Aeroflot for the past year and the problems still facing it, was held at the Ministry of Civil Aviation.

[Begin recording] [Elin] [Report over video includes shots of meeting room with close-ups of unidentified civil aviation officials, artist's renderings of airplanes and reporters taking notes] Opening the conference, Minister Aleksandr Nikitovich Volkov announced that despite the fact that the 1987 plan has been fulfilled, the air transport needs of the population and the economy were not fully satisfied. Thus, in the past year Aeroflot failed to offer its services to 15 million passengers. The regularity of flights had declined. The reasons for this are irregular delivery of aviation fuel, unsatisfactory air traffic management, and inadequate airport equipment in such cities as Simferopol and Adler. There was no improvement in the service provided to passengers either on the ground or in the air. There is a need for refitting the industry, construction of new airport complexes, an intensification of the use of such planes as the IL-86, YAK-42, TU-154, and the establishment of a powerful material base. Economical, competitive, new generation, highly efficient planes must appear on the routes as soon as possible. [Video cuts to close up of Elin] Aleksandr Nikitovich, when will new generation planes appear on the Aeroflot routes?

[Volkov] We expect the IL-96 will become airborne at the end of 1990. We expect to receive the first planes in 1991. The TU-204 is also expected in 1991, as well as the IL-114. This is not only because the designers are holding back the development of the documents—although delays in this area do exist—but these planes will not go into production until 1991. We will try hard to ensure that the aerial tests and tests under operational conditions are not delayed. We are interested in speeding things up.

[Report over video resumes with shots of news conference participants] [Elin] This is only one aspect of the question. New planes will not solve the problem by themselves. What is needed here is a package of measures to improve the work of the industry. In 1988 Aeroflot will change over completely to economic accountability, and become self-supporting and self-financing. A new, more flexible management structure will have to be introduced so as to resolve the complex tasks the largest air company in the world is facing.

Workers Not Benefiting From Plant's Success

OW300739 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2235 GMT on 29 December in its "Novosti" newscast carries a report by D. Dadayev from the Leningrad Krasny Vyborzhets aluminum plant. The plant's smelting workshop has performed particularly well, producing a thousand metric tons of rolled metal over last year's total. As the video shows the workshop, smelters, and other equipment, Dadayev says that more will be produced by the end of the year. He also says that as the plant is assuming complete economic accountability, it is not unreasonable to assume that the workers have benefited from increased productivity.

Video cuts to shots of Dadayev interviewing N.I. Semenov, head of the smelting workshop. Dadayev inquires whether, in view of increased productivity and workers fulfilling more than one job requirement, the workers' pay has increased substantially. Semenov denies that the workers' wages have increased, adding that so far only the "collective has given" while the management of the association has given "nothing at all."

Dadayev notes in conclusion that in other metallurgical plants the collective would have received R22,000.

Khmelnitskiy Nuclear Plant Begins Operation

AU291238 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 23 Dec 87 p 1

[Report by V. Krokhmalyuk, RADYANSKA UKRAINA correspondent in Khmelnitskiy Oblast: "The Khmelnitskiy AES Is in Operation"]

[Excerpts] The atomic heart of another AES, that in Khmelnitskiy, has begun to beat. Built by the working people from the CEMA member countries, the station generated its first current on 22 December. Power block No 1, with a capacity of 1 million kilowatts, has been connected to the power grid. At the same time, the comprehensive trials of the block's performance are in progress. [passage omitted].

The new AES under construction in Podolia will be integrated into the joint "Mir" power system of the CEMA member countries.

The city where the station's personnel live will have a population of several tens of thousands. The construction of power blocks No 2 and 3 is now in progress. According to M. Pokovba, chief of complex No 1 of the AES construction administration, in the coming year the collective will verify its production capacity under the conditions of switching over to self-financing and self-recouping.

Agricultural

Equipment Repair, Spare Parts Supply Hit

PM241527 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin "Agricultural Review": "Reliable Machinery Will Not Ruin the Furrow"]

[Text] Tillers said of old that an old horse does not spoil the furrow. But even now that they have long since changed to steel "horses," they value a machine's reliability above all else. This is understandable. First, our arable area has become vast—it is simply impossible to manage it without reliable machinery. Especially if you consider that with intensive technologies many operations are calculated literally in terms of hours rather than in days. Next year intensive technologies will be employed on a truly massive scale: Their total area for all crops will reach 50 million hectares. It is here that the highest increase in the harvest must be obtained.

Indeed, for the country as a whole it is envisaged that the gross grain harvest for the next year of the 5-year plan will amount to 235 million tonnes. It is planned to considerably boost the production of oilseeds, potatoes, fruits, sugar beets, cotton fiber, flax, and feed crops. In order to achieve this each hectare of arable land and meadow must be really carefully tended everywhere whatever weather conditions may prevail. This depends primarily on the quality of the preparation of agricultural equipment.

But December is already half over and the repair work is being carried out extremely slowly. Approximately 500,000 tractors, 460,000 combine harvesters, and much other agricultural machinery and equipment still have to be made operational. The rate of the repair work in Turkmenistan is considerably lower than even the mean rate for the country. There are many unserviceable combines, plows, cultivators, and seed drills on the Ukraine's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The repair of high-powered tractors and seed drills has been badly organized in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. Moldavia's farms lag behind in repair work for all categories without exception. Machine operators in Maritime Kray and Omsk, Volgograd, Moscow, and certain other RSFSR oblasts have shown a marked delay in tackling equipment rehabilitation.

On the whole the reason for this is understandable: Farmers finished the fall work in the fields later than usual and have thus failed to keep up with repair work. But "finishing work" and being concerned with the state of the equipment are different things. For instance, at the "Kommunist" Sovkhoz in Kherson Oblast's Berislavskiy Rayon machine operators immediately put each machine on its return from the field in special areas where they check assemblies and units for defects and carry out rust-prevention treatment. After this the machines go for repairs and end up in the hands of an economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] team of repair workers who are paid by the contract crop-growing teams. In short, there is order here and nothing "untoward" can get in the way.

But at the Karl Marx Kolkhoz in the Moldavian SSR's Orgeyevskiy Rayon each team's equipment storage areas are more reminiscent of a scrap heap than a place for storage and repairs. Broken boxes with new components and packaging lie around here. Disorder and confusion reign in the kolkhoz repair shop.

At the beginning of December an inspection carried out by the State Inspectorate for the Technical Condition of Machines and Equipment [Gostekhnadzor] into the machine pools in this rayon established that in 20 out of 24 livestock units the equipment has not been prepared at all for winter storage and that most teams of machine operators have not even embarked on repair work. This is what is surprising: Most of these teams are economically accountable and operate the collective contract. There is no great benefit from this sort of "economic accountability" if people have worked the season, calculated the harvest, and then—the grass does not grow.

The agro-industrial complex engineering and technical services' low responsibility for the state of equipment, the absence of order in machine pools, kolkhoz and sovkhoz workshops, and at agro-industrial complex repair enterprises, poor labor discipline in certain collectives, and shortage of spare parts—here, in short, is a list of the reasons accounting for the uneven winter repair of equipment.

The situation with regard to spare parts is especially inauspicious.

For instance, in Kazakhstan alone approximately 10% of combines and harvesters were not used to bring in the last harvest because of a shortage of spare parts. The situation is even more complex now. Under extremely difficult harvest conditions the equipment has suffered much more than usual; however, planned spare parts stocks continue to fall 30-40% short of requirements, and they are being complied with even less than this.

"We can make plans but how can we implement them if we do not receive what we need from the suppliers?" people in the USSR Gosagroprom's Agrosnab [main administration for material-technical supplies] ask reasonably.

In fact many Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building enterprises have simply become chronic debtors. They include the Noginsk Fuel Apparatus Plant, the Altay, Vladimir, and Kharkov Tractor Plants, the Altay Motor Plant, the Tula Combine Plant, the Berdyansk Reaper Association, Altayselmash, and a number of other enterprises.

For instance, the Noginsk Fuel Apparatus Plant alone last year had a delivery shortfall of 1.3 million piston couples to the State Agro-Industrial Committee and this year owes approximately 1 million. Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building enterprises have a 50% shortfall for many items in terms of the required quantity of spare parts for rural areas.

State Bearing Plant-10 (Rostov-na-Donu) and State Bearing Plant-8 (Kharkov) collectives, the Lebedinsk Piston Ring Plant, and the Yaroslavl "Avtodizel" Production Association are proving to be equally unreliable partners for the machine operators. Here is an example: A farm pays R15,000 for tractor K-701, but the costly machine may become a useless lump of metal because of a bearing costing R1.5. The two aforementioned bearing plants alone will this year have a delivery shortfall to the Gosagrprom of nearly 300,000 bearings of 11 sizes—that is, nearly one-half of the planned figure.

But it would seem that the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building is pushing rural machine operators into a corner—not only today but also in the future. In order for all the excavators and automobile cranes—equipment which, to put it bluntly, is extremely necessary for the countryside—to work, then—according to norms elaborated by the ministry and the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab—spare parts worth R161 million need to be supplied. Yet they promise to provide only R38 million worth.

Thus a completely justified question arises: If an enterprise manufactures equipment but does not supply the necessary quantity of spare parts—what is the point of having new machines?

Only a reliable machine will not spoil the furrow. A letter which the CPSU Central Committee recently addressed to all agro-industrial complex labor collectives specially stressed the need to reliably prepare agricultural equipment for the spring work and the harvesting: Our next harvest ultimately depends on this. Farmers, all agro-industrial complex workers, and all collectives working for the country's agro-industrial complex are equally responsible for it.

Scientific

Research Satellite 'Cosmos-1907' Launched 29 Dec

LD291535 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1317 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1907," was launched in the Soviet Union today for continuing space research. It has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 90.2 mins; maximum distance from surface of earth, 398 km; minimum, 208 km; orbital inclination, 72.9 degrees. The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

More on Landing of 'Soyuz TM-3' on 29 Dec

Cosmonauts Interviewed

LD292151 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 29 December in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 4-minute report on the "Soyuz TM-3" landing by correspondents S. Slipchenko, V. Pankratov, and V. Pishchulin, identified by screen captions. The correspondents report from a helicopter in the area where the "Soyuz TM-3" landed.

The capsule's descent is shown. It is then obscured from view by fog. The film cuts to a shot of the module sideways on the ground. Slipchenko explains that his helicopter has heard that the capsule has landed and they can now go down. He continues: "The gusts of wind were obviously so strong on landing that the landing capsule was turned on its side. Here you can see it. Several decisions were taken by doctors and specialists. At first, it was decided not to evacuate the crew from aboard the landing capsule until a medical tent was put up. But it is now already clear that with such strong winds—and the gusts reached during the landing 25 and even sometimes up to 30 meters per second—in such strong winds it is even difficult to put up a tent. A new decision has now been taken— to evacuate the crew directly in a nearby medical helicopter. "Various shots of the scene are shown from the helicopter. A group of men are shown gathered around the capsule.

A closeup is shown of the capsule hatch. The film then cuts to Romanenko, having emerged from the capsule, being carried by a group of men. He is asked how he feels and replies "I feel great, and so does the crew. People usually ask what I feel: a good feeling of satisfaction with the great work that has been done. Happiness, of course happiness about coming down to earth, to the snow-covered Kazakh soil, to friends and comrades and all of you." Slipchenko then asks whether Romanenko had a strong urge to come back to earth. The latter replies "Well, how should I put it? Recently we joked. Sasha Aleksandrov ended up on a lengthy expedition rather by chance. And in the beginning, of course, he endured this somehow or other. Now he was engaged to the very last second, literally, in carrying out various experiments and taking photographs. I said to him, that is enough, Sasha. We shall get ready for going down to earth; we have to pack our things. So you get attached to space. On a long flight, you feel like going on and on."

Levchenko is shown getting into a waiting helicopter supported by a man on either side. Viewers are told that he is going to an airport from where he will fly to Moscow to continue his work. He will be piloting a plane after his period of weightlessness.

Aleksandrov is then shown being carried and is placed on the ground in a sort of chair. He is asked how he feels and replies, "Everything is great. Everything is fine, as you can see. It was a good landing. All the work has been completed. Everyone is fully satisfied with what has been done." He is asked: "Did you manage to do everything?" He replies: "We did manage to do everything." He describes the goodbyes with the Okean crew now in "Mir."

One of the reporters among the landing party asks a man next to him: "As a doctor, what can you see? How do they feel? You have talked to them." The man replies: "On the basis of a preliminary checkup and contact with them, they are in a good state. They are helping energetically, taking part in the evacuation process."

Slipchenko continues the reportage, now inside a plane with Romanenko and Aleksandrov, "Yes, what we see now is phenomenal. In a plane just a little while ago, only a few hours have passed since the landing, Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov have changed, stood up and sat down at the table and are now eating our earth food with great pleasure." Laveykin is shown seated across from the eating cosmonauts.

A.A. Leonov, identified by caption as the deputy chief of the cosmonaut training center who is also in the plane, puts this phenomenon down to a high-level of self-organization and preparation for landing from the 1st day. He is seated next to Romanenko, who is half lying down, and says to him: "I am saying this, Yuriy; you fulfilled the whole program, not only for the checking but for yourself."

The film cuts to the plane arriving in darkness. Romanenko, supported by a man on either side, is shown on tarmac being greeted by a woman and kissed. He then hugs a young boy. Aleksandrov also hugs a woman and child. Slipchenko concludes the report: "For the first time in very likely in the whole history of manned space exploration, a crew at Baykonur is welcomed by their families, wives, and children. They will be seeing in the New Year all together."

Receive Order of Lenin

LD291821 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—Yuriy Romanenko, USSR pilot-cosmonaut, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, has been awarded the Order of Lenin, says a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet issued today. The top award was conferred on him for successful implementation of a long space flight on board the "Mir" orbital research complex (326 days) and for his courage and heroism during the flight.

Aleksandr Aleksandrov, USSR pilot-cosmonaut and Hero of the Soviet Union, was awarded the Order of Lenin and the second Gold Star medal for successful implementation of the space flight on board the "Mir" orbital research complex and for his courage and heroism during the flight. Anatoliy Levchenko was conferred the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and was awarded the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star medal. He was also conferred the title of USSR pilot-cosmonaut.

More on Space Activities Aboard 'Mir'

Program Reviewed

LD291254 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—Cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko, Aleksandr Aleksandrov, and Anatoliy Levchenko returned to earth at 12:16, Moscow time, today after successfully accomplishing a program for scientific and technical research and experiments on board the orbital complex "Mir".

The descent module of the "Soyuz TM-3" spaceship landed 80 km away from the town of Arkalyk. Upon landing the cosmonauts feel well.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov continue work in orbit.

For the first time in history Cosmonaut Yuriy Romanenko made a 326-days-long space flight. Full change of the crew was effected during the uninterrupted functioning of the orbital research complex "Mir".

The program for work in orbit included astrophysical, geophysical and medico-biological research, engineering, technological and biotechnological experiments as well as assembly operations in the open space to install an experimental solar-cell battery.

The crew was partially changed in the middle of the flight: Aleksandr Aleksandrov took the place of flight engineer Aleksander Laveykin and made a 160-day space flight.

A large amount of research was carried out under international cooperation programs. The Soviet-Syrian crew worked on board the orbital complex for a week, performing experiments prepared by the scientists of the Soviet Union and Syria.

The addition of the scientific module "Kvant" to the orbital complex made it possible to implement an extensive program of astro-physical research with the use of the "Roentgen" orbital observatory created by the scientists of the Soviet Union, Britain, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the European Space Agency as well as the Glazar ultra-violet telescope designed in the Soviet Union with the participation of Swiss specialists.

The telescopes of the "Kvant" module were the first in the world to record the X-ray radiation of the super-nova in the large Magellanic Cloud.

In all, there were more than 500 sessions of research into various astro-physical objects. Two hundred and seventy photographic pictures of starry sky areas were taken by means of the Glazar ultra-violet telescope.

The existence of several technological installations made it possible to perform a large number of experiments on space study of materials with due regard for the results obtained in the previous flights.

Visual observations, photography and spectrometry of land and the world ocean area were regularly carried out under the program of research into the natural resources of the earth and the study of the environment.

Equipment, apparatus, and expendable materials necessary for the ensurance of the cosmonauts' work were uninterruptedly delivered to the orbital complex "Mir" by "Progress" automatic spacecraft.

The state of the cosmonauts' health was continuously monitored during the flight. A series of disease-prevention measures enabled the mission commander to make the record-long space flight.

Soviet cosmonautics approaches the end of the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with outstanding successes.

An effective operation of the orbital multi-module complex "Mir" and the modernized transport spaceship "Soyuz TM"—which were created on the basis of the latest achievements of the country's industry—has been started.

The results of the research and experiments carried out by the crews on board the orbital complex "Mir" are of great scientific value, and will be used in the development of fundamental sciences as well as in many branches of the national economy.

'Soyuz TM-4' Repositioned

LD301210 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 30 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who took over the research complex "Mir" ("Peace") from the previous crew, are continuing their mission.

In keeping with the programme, the cosmonauts today disconnected the "Soyuz TM-4" spacecraft from the astrophysical module "Kvant" and linked it to the transfer section of the basic module.

The manoeuvre of the manned complex was carried out with a view to ensuring further transport operations on providing it with fuel and cargo to be brought by unmanned freight ships of the progress series.

Before the operation, the cosmonauts moved to the transport spacecraft and closed airlocks. At 12:10 Moscow time, "Soyuz TM-4" separated from the orbital complex.

Responding to commands from the mission control centre, the basic module turned 180 degrees. At 12:29, the crew docked the craft to the transfer section.

The on-board systems of the spacecraft functioned normally throughout the manoeuvre in orbit.

Titov and Manarov are feeling fine.

First Commercial Space Technology Agreement Made

LD291754 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Three research experiments on board the Soviet space craft ("Foton") will be carried out between 1989-92 by the FRG firm Kayser-Threde. VIO Litsenzintorg has concluded an agreement with the firm. This is the first commercial agreement between a Soviet organization and a foreign partner in the field of space technology.

The results of research into semiconductor materials, alloys, and protein structures is of tremendous value for development of future technology, including biotechnology and genetic engineering. Kayser-Threde will manufacture the equipment and deliver it to the Soviet Union. After the experimental containers have been in orbit, they will be returned to the firm. The ("Foton") craft have been allocated for the experiments, put in orbit with the aid of "Soyuz" class rockets. Their advantage lies in the fact that all the experimental equipment is returned to Earth. The experience of such international cooperation may serve as an effective stimulus for other foreign firms working in the appropriate fields.

Scientists in Antarctica Study 'Ozone Hole'

LD292246 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Antarctica, Molodezhnaya Observatory December 29 TASS—TASS Special Correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov reports:

"We are aware of the acuteness of the problem of the 'ozone hole' over Antarctica but we are against hasty forecasts and dramatization of the phenomemon," said Anatoliy Yanochkin, director of the atmospheric rocket probing party of the Molodyozhnaya Aerometeorogical Centre on Enderby Land.

He shared his opinion following a regular launch of a meteorological probe with ozone meters into the sky of the ice continent. Soviet polar researchers have been regularly launching such probes within the spring of this year when the Soviet Union signed within the framework of the World Meteorological Organization the international convention on the study and protection of the ozone layers of the planet.

Upon having interpreted the recordings of the high-altitude probe, Anatoliy Yanochkin said that following the October minimum when the content of ozone in the atmosphere here dropped to 40 per cent of the average annual norm, it again grew and even exceeded the average.

The research into the causes and mechanism of the 'ozone hole' has been included in the programs of several Antarctic stations and is also conducted on the basis of international cooperation.

Molodyozhnaya is Antarctica's only station where atmospheric rocket probes are used. The results of the probing are immediately transmitted free of charge of all interested countries. Ozone observations are also made at Novolazarevskaya Station together with specialists of the German Democratic Republic. Mirny Observatory begins to launch Soviet-American ozonometric probes on air balloons.

Soviet scientists examine all hypotheses about the causes and possible consequences of the 'ozone hole', including the outcome of planetary atmospheric pollution by industrial discharges.

"We view the latter as an unlikely cause of the depletion of the ozone layer. As compared with natural phenomena such as volcano eruptions, even the aggregate combusion products of all aircraft and space technology are negligible," Anatoliy Yanochkin said. "At the beginning of the 1980s when an ozone deficit was recorded over Antarctica, the volcanoes of Central America became active".

The scientist's opinion is that the possibility of antropogenic effect on the global atmosphere cannot be fully denied. If such conclusion is confirmed, mankind will encounter a no lesser danger than that of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

Anatoliy Koptev, director of the background station to monitor the natural environment of antarctica at Mirny Observatory, has said the theory, according to which a seasonal pumping of ozone takes place over the South Polar region, has the largest number of supporters among his colleagues.

"The area of the so-called 'ozone hole' coincides with the spread of the 'polar vortex' (which is known to scientists) over western Antarctica", he explained. "A readjustment of atmospheric processes is most intensive there in spring-time and it can be likened to a gigantic exhaust pipe. As soon as a comparative equilibrium of thermobaric fields is established in October, the temperature of high-altitude layers of the atmospheric begins to rise and the concentration of ozone increases".

Briefs

Arctic Exploration

The research vessel "Professor Shtokman" has returned to Kaliningrad from a research voyage in the Arctic. According to the chief of the expedition, 4 months were spent in the Barents and Kara Seas, where a study was carried out of the structure of the earth's crust in these regions. This work was a logical continuation of their previous research. They had with them a new piece equipment, a geomagnetic gradienter which made it possible to define more accurately the magnetic field in the waters under study. Knowledge about these structures will help increase the effectiveness of exploration for mineral resources in the Arctic seas. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 29 Dec 87 LD*]